

PAKISTAN ARMY Green Book 2020

India's Annexation of Kashmir: Implications & Pakistan's Options

Senator Mushahid Hussain

Counter Terrorism: The War of Narratives

Dr Sheharyar Khan

Legal Changes Required for Revival of the Pakistan Economy

Ahmer Bilal Soofi

US & China and Impact on Regional Strategic Balance of South Asia

Dr Rizwana Karim Abbasi

National Security & Emerging Geopolitical Scenario: Post Article 370 Obliteration

Farzana Shah

Our Tribes — Our Pride



PAKISTAN ARMY

General Headquarters
Rawalpindi

Pakistan Army Green Book

**A Research Journal of Pakistan Army, recognised by
the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan**

DISCLAIMER

**The contents of this book are writers' personal views.
The statements, facts and opinions by the authors in
the Green Book do not imply the official policy of the
institution, editors or the publisher.**

ISSN 2303-9973

**Copyrights General Headquarters, Rawalpindi
All rights reserved**

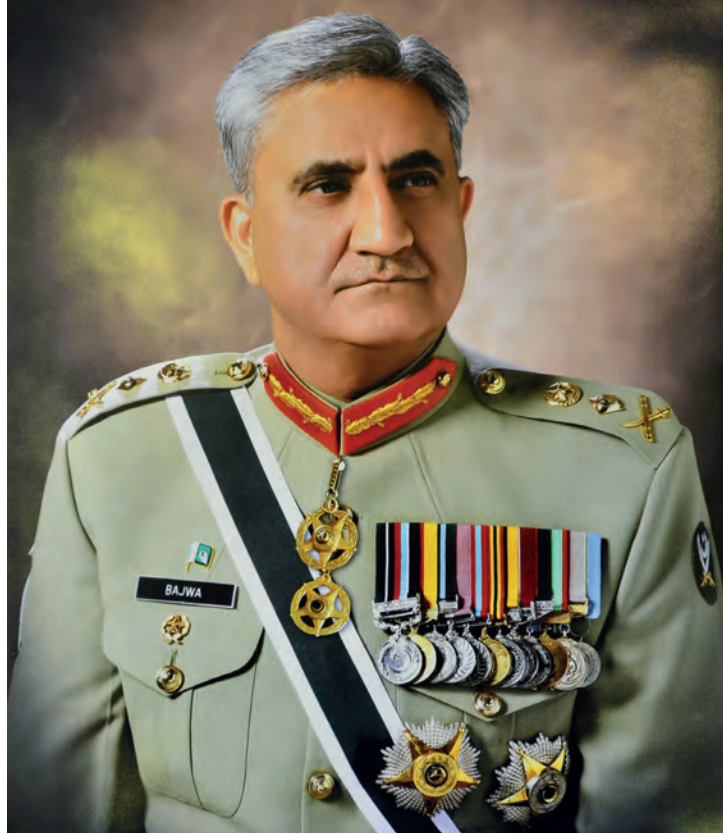
No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Doctrine and Evaluation Directorate, Inspector General Training and Evaluation Branch, General Headquarters, Rawalpindi.

Printed by: **Crystal Printers**
17 Miles, Saiban Hill, Murree Road, Bharakahu, Islamabad
Tel: +92-51-2807225, +92-300-5143011, +92-336-9223331
E-mail: crystalprintersisb@gmail.com
www.crystalprinters.org

Note from the Patron-in-Chief

GENERAL QAMAR JAVED BAJWA, NI (M)

Chief of Army Staff

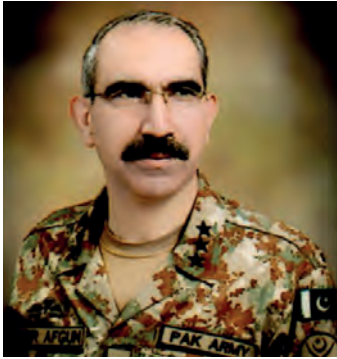


The environment continues to get complex with introduction of terms like Lawfare, Cross Domain Deterrence, and the lines keep getting blurry between different kinds of warfare from conventional to SCW, Hybrid, Grey Hybrid, 5th GW, Non-Contact Warfare etc. South Asia is one such region, which has seen manifestation of these jargons more than the rest of the World. Year 2019 witnessed two significant events which will have lasting imprint on the geopolitics of this region; first, the unwarranted Balakot Strike by Indian Air Force on 26th February and second, the unilateral annexation of Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir by Mr Modi on 5th August, through abrogation of Article 370 and 35A. Former was a coercive attempt to carve out space for war under nuclear overhang and enforce compellence; adroitly denied by Pakistan Air Force the very next day, through a calibrated and proportionate response – Indian craving for establishing a New Normal was stymied comprehensively. The latter, despite condemnation by the World at large, continues to haunt the lives of over eight million Muslims of IOJK, who are subjected to flagrant denial of basic human rights including right to self-determination enshrined in UN Charter and guaranteed by various UN Resolutions; the Valley continues to witness the longest curfew ever. Kashmir is a nuclear flashpoint and in total disregard to international norms, Mr Modi has not only endangered the immediate neighbourhood, but has also raised the ante for the entire World.

The scholarly discourse in current edition of Pakistan Army Green Book has accordingly spotlighted the implications of these events from diverse perspectives and dimensions. Additionally, the book also takes an insightful look at other contemporary non-traditional security challenges as well as aspects related to economy, artificial intelligence and social media. The credit for maintaining highest standards of intellect and quality goes to our worthy scholars and the editorial team. I wish them well!



PATRON



Lieutenant General Sher Afgan, HI (M)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



Major General Fida Hussain Malik, HI (M)

EDITORS

Brigadier Muhammad Farooq
Lieutenant Colonel Asad Saeed

ADVISORY BOARD

Lieutenant General Naeem Khalid Lodhi,
HI (M) (Retired)

Brigadier Dr Naeem Haider, SI (M)

Dr Zafar Iqbal Cheema
President and Executive Director of
Strategic Vision Institute,
Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema
Dean FCS, National Defence University
Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr Zulfqar Khan
Head of Department, Strategic Studies
National Defence University,
Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr Rizwana Karim Abbasi
National Defence University,
Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr Zafar Khan
National Defence University,
Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr Mohammad Iftikhar Zaidi
Cranfield University, UK

Professor Caroline Kennedy-Pipe
University of Loughborough, UK

Dr Peter Caddick Adams
Cranfield University, UK

CONTENTS

Security
Competition
between US &
China and Impact
on Regional
Strategic Balance of
South Asia

Dr Rizwana Karim Abbasi

01



The Prospects and Panacea
of Peace in South Asia

Lt Gen Raza Muhammad Khan
HI (M), (Retd)

15

National Security & Emerging
Geopolitical Scenario:
Post Article 370 Obliteration

Farzana Shah

28



India's
Annexation
of Kashmir:
Implications &
Pakistan's Options

Senator Mushahid
Hussain

43



India Pakistan Relations:
In Perspective

Ambassador Shamshad Ahmad Khan
(Retd)

50



Future War:
What Needs to be Done ?

Prof Dr Tughral Yamin

64





From Desk of Editor-In-Chief

Chess board of geopolitics is perpetually in motion and poses challenge to the nations across the globe for rapid adaptation. In the fluctuating milieu, geo-political power contestation amongst the power players is ever increasing in intensity, lethality and effects. Recent revolutions in military and strategic thoughts, is third offset based on Science, Technology and Innovations which is exhibited in Cyber, Space and Information Domains besides the traditional domains of warfare – Land, Air and Sea. Concept of Globalization has also brought onto us the unprecedented flow of information which is bane and boon juxtaposed. New players like China & Russia are pushing the US led International Liberal Order towards an era of more multipolar power centres. Regionalism is gaining currency, Populism sentiment is high and traditional power centres are grappling to remain atop. Westphalian Nation States physical and cognitive boundaries are at stake with the new concepts of deterrence and state craft, where role of institutions and individuals are overshadowing the states.

South Asia, due to its strategic location and role in the world politics, is also under a great impact of this rapid transformation in the geo-politics and geo-economics. For the last 20 years, Pakistan Armed Forces with all other state institutions are fully involved in combatting the threats to Pakistan. Sunderji to CSD and CSD to Hybrid Warfare is a relatively fast transition in a tiny period of 20 years; and this transition has been tackled superbly by the Armed Forces of Pakistan through an equally paced cross-domain response. Still there is a lot on the horizon and we need to keep abreast physically and intellectually. Pak Army as an institution, besides hard core training, also ventures for the intellectual grooming and academic pursuits and Pakistan Army Green Book is one of the projects in same direction. The book used to be subject specific, then it became event specific and at currently, it is a multi-sphere compilation by scholars and practitioners alike. Edition in your hands is First Book of the second decade of 21st Century, which contains a variety of topics on evolving international environment, national security, competing strategies and latest scientific challenges. The authors have immense experience at their hands and they have proffered some very good suggestions which can be incorporated by concerned departments with more deliberations. Knowledge and research reflected in this book is important to be understood at all levels as new eras and vistas are lying open ahead of us. Theories of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Clausewitz, Kahn still resonate, yet at times are challenged through echoes of Multi Domain Operations, Cross Domain Deterrence, Artificial Intelligence, Non-Contact Warfare, and host of other factors.

Pakistan is located at the cusp of three ancient civilizations and carries the genetic code. We need to actualize and tread on the path leading us to excellence which certainly goes through knowledge and its application, as it is also a divine instruction to us.

اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ

“Read in the name of your Lord, Who created”
(Al-Quran 96:1)

Cross Domain Deterrence The Pulwama Attack: Limited War & Nuclear Implications Reestablishing Deterrence & High Order War

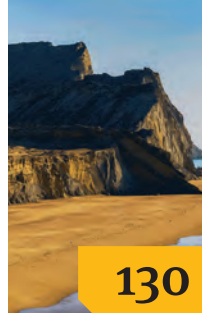
Dr Maria Sultan



75

Pakistan's Marine Resources and the Untapped Maritime Vista

Khalid Rahman



130

Counter Terrorism: The War of Narratives

Dr Sheharyar Khan



93

Non Traditional Security Challenges to Pakistan

Air Cdre Kashif Jamal Khan



138

Legal Changes Required for Revival of The Pakistan Economy

Ahmer Bilal Soofi



100

Artificial Intelligence: Future Prospects in National & Defence Related Aspects

Major Rana Haseeb Ahmed



151

Formalizing Pakistan's Informal Economy

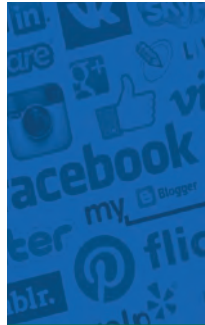
Dr Zafar Mahmood



114

Impact of Social Media on National Security

Brigadier Dr Abdul Rauf & Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Sharjeel Zareen



166

Political Governance and Hybrid War

Imtiaz Gul



109

Artificial Intelligence: An Overview

Major Ayaz Rafique



180

INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE EXHIBITION & SEMINAR



11th

Edition of
Innovation & Excellence



Global Cooperation
Strategic Partnership

24 - 27 November 2020
Karachi Expo Centre



Institutional Support



MINISTRY OF
DEFENCE PRODUCTION



JOINT STAFF
HEADQUARTERS



PAKISTAN
ARMY



PAKISTAN
NAVY



PAKISTAN
AIR FORCE



DEFENCE EXPORT
PROMOTION ORGANIZATION

BOOK NOW

Tel : 0092 51 9262016, Fax : 0092 51 9262018

E-Mail: info@depo.gov.pk

www.ideaspakistan.gov.pk



Security Competition between **US & CHINA** and Impact on Regional Strategic Balance of South Asia



Dr Rizwana Karim Abbasi

Abstract

The global distribution of power is transmuting from Europe to Asia-Pacific and the steady fluctuations between states within Asia are also being witnessed. The strategic quadrilateral relationship described here, a growing systemic security dilemma, among states such as US, China, India, and Pakistan, is fairly complicated. Given the anarchic nature of security dilemma, this study builds debate, how systemic interaction of these states, their force structure, military modernizations, and future technological advancements lead to shape the regional security order of broader Southern Asian region. The study determines that competitive balancing of power system lead to create systemic security dilemma among these states based on future possibilities for miscalculations and unresolvable problems of arms racing. The security dilemma among these states can only be resolved through bilateral arrangements instead of multilateral mechanisms.

Keywords: *US, China, Regional Strategic Balance, South Asia Force Modernization, Systemic Security Dilemma*



Global distribution of power¹ has taken a shift to Asia as China's economy is gradually growing and currently its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has exceeded that of the United States at the rate of purchasing power parity. Similarly, many other countries of Asia are economically transitioning thereby upholding moderately poised growth rates. Therefore, Asia has become the epicenter of global political economy. John Ikenberry suggested that the coming phase of world order will be *'the post-Western and post-hegemonic order having China at the Center'*.² Gram Allison maintains that as China gradually rises, the US in turn failed to recognize that Beijing holds potential to exert its own vision for the global order, with ability to challenge the American-led global system.³ Indeed, China's growing influence and its Belt and Road initiative (BRI) has led to transform Asia thereby making it more prominent in the global political affairs. Being that said, US also holds its maritime supremacy in the region since 1970s and it seems that the US will endure to perform a dominant role from a distance in order to safeguard its political, economic, diplomatic and military interests. In this context, US and India have identified converging interests to constrain rise of China while Pakistan is legitimizing the rise of China through the manifestation of China Pakistan Economic Corridor that is the fulcrum of China's Belt and Road project.

When it comes to security dilemma, it is imperative to acknowledge the pioneering contributions and/or expansion of the concept of security dilemma by leading scholars such as Herbert Butterfield,⁴ John H. Herz,⁵ and Robert Jervis.⁶ For Jervis, one state's increased security often inadvertently threatens the security of other state.⁷ John H. Herz argues that in order to maximize security, states are compelled to accumulate more and more power to mitigate the impact of the might of others. Such action reaction cycle in turn boils down the others more into insecurity compelling them to prepare for the disastrous outcomes.⁸ A growing systemic security dilemma, defined by Charles Glaser – *'a situation in which one state's efforts to increase its own security reduces the security of others'*,⁹ between these states in Asia is fairly complicated that provide them the incentive to play out various combination of strategies based on cooperation, competition, and containment that in turn may raise the possibility of conflict amongst them leading to challenge the stability of the broader Asian region.

The chief purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have almost no other useful purpose

(Bernard Brodie)

US failed to recognize that Beijing holds potential to exert its own vision for the global order, with ability to challenge the American-led global system

Clausewitz's widely used concept that 'war is the continuation of politics by other means'¹⁰ and 'states accrue power to fight war'¹¹ and victory was the sole purpose of war was relevant in the traditional times. Although the innovation of technologies such as nuclear weapons changed this concept and states began to rationalize that victory cannot be achieved in war domain, as bigger wars have become socially and politically costly. This is why Bernard Brodie proposed, 'the chief purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have almost no other useful purpose'.¹² Although, probability of full-scale war has reduced between rising and declining powers as Gram Allison rightly argues 'war between US and China is not inevitable'¹³ but considering innovation of smarter technologies, smart, short and precise wars yet remain relevant in parallel to deployment of other coercive means to achieve national goals.¹⁴ Presence of nuclear weapons may not get US and China or India and Pakistan into a large-scale war but probability of security driven arms racing problem and possibility of smart strikes and/ or limited confrontation cannot be ruled out. Therefore, this paper aims at assessing the end means of power competition between United States and China raising the following questions: what are the persuasive reasons that lead to form competing trends between US and China? How closely US-China evolving technologies are linked to vicious cycle of security and power competition between India and Pakistan? How chain reaction of these states leads to have adversative or stable strategic effects? The study aims to determine how systemic interaction of these states shapes the broader regional security environment.

US Power Balance and Military Modernization in Asia

A set of determining actors have led to shift the US priorities from European continent and Middle East to Asia. One, the rapid economic growth of Asia has raised the geopolitical importance of this region. Therefore, US has initiated its *'rebalancing strategy'* – a *'Pivot to Asia'*¹⁵ that means it had to rebalance economic, political, and security commitments to Asia.¹⁶ Asia-Pacific spans from the Pacific to Indian Ocean that shapes up the global politics thereby becoming the engine of future global economy. Two, the US aims at safeguarding interests of its allies while managing regional



China is not only building infrastructure but also building regional economic connectivity and appearing as a major problem solver for this region. Many lesser economies of the East and Southeast Asia heavily rely on rising China. The US in turn is pursuing a policy of selective /deep engagement to project its national interests with states bilaterally

conflicts. For example, territorial disputes between regional states, such as Northern Territories or Southern Kuriles between Japan and Russia; Senkakus between Japan, China, and Taiwan; Takeshima between Korea and Japan; Paracels between Vietnam and China; Spratlys which is being claimed by China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines; and Preah Vihear temple complex between Cambodia and Thailand; China's assertion on the South and East China Seas, unresolved issues between China and other Asian states are also driving features for the US hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. China's construction of ports such as Gwadar-port in Pakistan, Hambantota-port in Sri Lanka, Sittwe-port in Burma and Chittagong-port in Bangladesh are commercial ports but these developments in turn create security competition between the US and China.

US aspires to secure its own exports across the Pacific, while importing quality Asian goods at a sustainable level

Three, US dominated the blue waters and the skies of the Asia-Pacific for nearly seventy years. The US maintained supremacy in the Indian Ocean Region during the Cold War period in order to outweigh the expanding influence of the USSR (now Russia) thereby maintaining broader footprint in this region to safeguard Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) for oil and trade routes from the Middles East. Thus, US aims at safeguarding all the SLOCs that are pivotal to its economy from Asia-Pacific to the Indian Ocean region. Being that noted, the US Western border stretches across the Pacific Ocean where the US and its allies have shared economic interests to East and Southeast Asia.¹⁷ For example, Japan, South Korea, Australia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam are part of this alliance system. US aims at navigating complete water ways across choke points from Hormuz to Malacca strait.

Four, the US aspires to secure its own exports across the Pacific, while importing quality Asian goods at a sustainable level. The US enjoyed its political influence and economic hegemony in East and Southeast Asia. China's size, its continental power potential¹⁸ (a state that enjoys secure land

borders in absence of serious local enemies), and growing wealth gradually turns the geo-economic and geopolitical environment to its favor. China is not only building infrastructure but also building regional economic connectivity and appearing as a major problem solver for this region. Many lesser economies of the East and Southeast Asia heavily rely on rising China. The US in turn is pursuing a policy of selective /deep engagement¹⁹ to project its national interests²⁰ with states bilaterally in this region. The US also enhances its assertiveness through regional institutions.²¹ These institutions include the East Asia Summit (EAS), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN – the most powerful platform) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. The multilateral institutions of Asia can strengthen the US alliance system in order to maximize their communal political objectives. In this context, the former Defense Secretary, Ash Carter, heightened that the Asia-Pacific security set-up [is] a network of bilateral, trilateral and multilateral linkages in which the US alliance system are decisively entangled.²² In 2009, US joined the ASEAN treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) resulting into US-ASEAN summit, held in November 2009. Although US unilateral withdrawal from Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) has weakened its alliance cohesion in Asia but it still closely works with Philippines, South Korea and Japan. The US holds its resilience in the Asia-Pacific through maintaining a consistent military force in the



A loaded Chinese ship prepares to depart from Gwadar



US holds its resilience in Asia-Pacific through maintaining a consistent military force in the region, thereby introducing military reforms and modernization plans, adopting new operational concepts and capabilities to changing character of warfare that in turn creates a vicious cycle of arms competition among regional states

region thereby introducing military reforms and modernization plans, adopting new operational concepts and capabilities to changing character of warfare that in turn creates a vicious cycle of arms competition among regional states.

US Military Modernization Plans for Asia-Pacific

The US preserves stockpile of 4500 nuclear warheads, 1930 of which are retained in deployed form (1750 are strategic whereas 180 are non-strategic warheads). Around 2570 are reported to be held in reserves.²³ The US plans on spending \$700 billion to improve deterrent force over the next 25 years.²⁴ It aims at capitalizing \$350 billion²⁵ on its deterrent force and modernization of platforms to encounter twenty-first century challenges.

The US plans on spending \$700 billion to improve deterrent force over the next 25 years

Currently, the US possesses 18-B2s and 88B-52Hs out of which 16 B2s and 44 B52Hs are thought to be specified for nuclear role.²⁶ The US does not deploy more than 200-300 weapons at the bombers bases in peace times. The remaining 550-650 weapons are reported to be stored in central storage at Kirtland and New Mexico.²⁷ The US air force will continue to improve its bombers

inventories such as next generation long range nuclear bombers²⁸ (B21 bombers) between 2030s and 2040s.²⁹ New guided nuclear gravity bomb such as B61-12 to arm its existing B-21 and the B-2 at a cost of nearly \$10 billion for estimated 480 bombs³⁰ delivery of which is schedule in 2022. Production of modern cruise missiles with exalted accuracy³¹ and range is underway. Latest Long Range Standoff Missile (LRSO) that are capable of integration in B-2, B-52H and B-21 are being secured worth US \$25 billion for 1000 missiles.

On Land based Ballistic Missiles, the US retains 441 deployed operational Minuteman III ICBMs whereas additional 249 are kept in storage.³² The US Air Force is building a latest class of the ICBM called Ground Based Strategic Deterrent (GBSD). On Ballistic Missile Submarines, US navy preserves at least 14 SSBNs of Ohio class, out of which 8 are stationed in the Pacific while other 6 in the Atlantic, equipped with Trident II (D5) SLBMs. Nearly 12 new SSBNs need to replace 14 Ohio-class SSBNs due to their better efficiency in refueling process. The US is modernizing its Trident II D5 missiles.³³ Total of 12 SSBNs are planned that worth \$98-103 billion including \$10-15 billion dedicated to research and development.³⁴ More so, the US possesses 500 tactical B61 bombs of all version in its stockpile,³⁵ 180 of which are deployed at six diverse locations in the European Union that will be replaced with modern and efficient B61-12 guided nuclear gravity bombs.



US naval power projection in Asia-Pacific



Deployment of US Inventories in Asia Pacific: Currently, the US aims to deploy ready military force to contain China's growing influence in the East and South China Seas and this country's security threat to Japan. Currently, 377,000 US civilian and military personnel are working across the Asia-Pacific.³⁶ The US navy has stationed nuclear submarines to a secret location in the region and it has more than 5000 troops deployed in Guam³⁷ along with the stationed bombers that includes B-1 (carry only conventional mission), B-2 and B-52. The US missiles defence comprised of land-based midcourse defence platforms stationed in Alaska and California, directed to counter a limited ballistic missile attack originated from Iran or North Korea and to counter Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) technologies that hold capability to intercept medium range ballistic batteries, or the Aegis BMD systems, and the Patriot PAC-3 batteries that are directed to intercept and hit short to intermediate range ballistic missiles.

US is also purchasing cyber weapon for deterrent effect and offensive cyber war capabilities

Notably, Japan and Taiwan both have acquired PAC-3 missiles defence systems. The US and its ally, South Korea are installing THAAD on South Korean territory against the North Koreans. US at present has 28,500 troops from the air, land and sea stationed in the territory of South Korea.³⁸ Additionally, US multiple squadrons of F-16 units and A-10 ground attack aircrafts are stationed in South Korea.³⁹ The US and South Korean militaries routinely conduct communal drills. Japan plans to buy THAAD systems, and is aspiring to procure the Aegis Ashore BMD system to be stationed in Japan. US has about 50,000 troops deployed in Japan. Japan and US control the near seas of China.⁴⁰ The US Conventional Prompt Global Strikes (CPGS) are capable of downing or disabling the anti-satellite capabilities or Area Access, Area Denial (A2/AD) capabilities of adversaries. The US has deployed advancing space and Anti Satellite capabilities in the region. US and Japan are collectively developing Aegis BMD and SM-3 Block-IIA interceptors against incoming medium and intermediate range missiles. US is also purchasing cyber weapon for deterrent effect and offensive cyber war capabilities. The platforms that are a part of general modernization efforts,⁴¹ include the fifth-generation F-35 fighter with increased survivable capacity, latest stealthy and long range attack aircraft and the KC-46A new-generation tankers and cargo jets to enable proficient, and fast-track long range positioning.⁴²

In the 2018 US Nuclear Posture Review (NPR),⁴³ President Trump promoted that the US

Death of INF treaty will accelerate a new arms race between the US and China forcing China to procure counter measures by increasing number of its warhead and delivery means to safeguard its own security interests in the region

needs more nuclear capabilities at its disposal to close imagined credibility gap.⁴⁴ President Trump administration has clear plans to expand US nuclear weapon capabilities.⁴⁵ Thus the US will continue to modernize its strategic nuclear triad along with maintenance of non-strategic nuclear weapons.

Trump Administration has announced to withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF).⁴⁶ The treaty was originated in 1987, that led to restrain both the US and Russia from developing nuclear and conventional ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles that ranged between 500-5,500 kilometers. The US evolving security dilemma with China's growing influence has encouraged US exit from the treaty. Indeed China is not a party to the INF treaty. This treaty indeed outlaws US from procuring and stationing more missiles and weapon systems in the Asian-Pacific region. The death of this treaty will accelerate a new arms race between the US and China forcing China to procure counter measures by increasing number of its warhead and delivery means to safeguard its own security interests in the region. Consequently, this would create challenging vicious cycle of security dilemma driven arms race.

China's Rise and Regional Security Environment

China's economic growth rate, its evolving military forces⁴⁷ and maritime territorial conflicts between China and its neighbors make China a prominent player in the region. Although, since the 1990s, China and the US enjoyed smooth bilateral relations to promote common economic and commercial interests such as trade, maintenance of global financial system and stability of global

US Conventional Prompt Global Strikes (CPGS) are capable of downing or disabling the anti-satellite capabilities or Area Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) capabilities of adversaries. The US has deployed advancing space and Anti Satellite capabilities in the region



China has achieved the status of second largest global economy, minimizing the power equation with US

economy. However, China's growing assertiveness in the region has modified their view of each other on various political and security matters. China has achieved the status of second largest global economy thereby minimizing the power equation with the US. This power transition in turn creates tough competition between the two. China considers that US military presence in Asia creates a great threat to Chinese security⁴⁸ and that US contributes to intensify the tension between Taiwan and China.⁴⁹

More so, China's socio-economic growth is increasingly dependent on sea trade- especially for energy imports. Nearly '89 per cent of China's hydrocarbons are shipped through waterways.⁵⁰ Maritime transport in the Indian Ocean is limited to the smaller choke points such as Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca. Additional stake for China is first island chain. This chain flows from South Korea via Japan, Philippines and Malaysia to Indonesia. For Chinese, the US along with its Asian allies uses this first island chain as a tool to impede China's legitimacy. China believes that construction of its ports is purely defensive and commercial, based on its economic connectivity under its BRI project.⁵¹

Thus, the PLA has adopted a series of contingency plans in order to contain potential military intervention in the region by the US. China sees 'US military presence in Asia as destabilizing factor'⁵² and its policy on South China Sea as 'Cold War mentality'.⁵³ China in turn leads to modernizing its technologies in order to safeguard its economic and security goals in the region.



A nuclear-powered Type 094A Jin-class ballistic missile submarine of Chinese PLA Navy

China's Evolving Technologies and Countermeasures

China maintains a comprehensive and small arsenals adhering to the policy of minimum deterrence and policy of NFU⁵⁴ based on defensive posture. However, China is presently modernizing its deterrent forces in order to safeguard its vital interests against the developments highlighted above. China's latest number of warheads is 260 that can be delivered via land based ballistic missiles, aircraft, and nuclear powered submarines. Land and airbase platforms are reported to be operational with possession of 190 warheads⁵⁵ while others are stored in non-operational form. China retains its arsenals at low level of alert in peacetime, de-mated and stored separately from warheads. China continues to 'optimize its nuclear force structure', while improving strategic early warning systems, command and control capabilities, missile preparation rapid reaction, and survivability and protection capability.⁵⁶ China possesses small stockpile of HEU and Plu among P5 countries.⁵⁷ It has ceased production of HEU between 1987 and 1989 and production of military plutonium was ceased in 1991.⁵⁸ Therefore, instead of increasing in size, China is modernizing its forces qualitatively.

China sees 'US military presence in Asia as destabilizing factor' and its policy on South China Sea as 'Cold War' mentality

For example, China stations a range of its Dongfeng (DF) type ground-based ballistic missile systems, that are approximately two-thirds of its overall inventory. China possesses 150 missiles of seven types and gradually modernizing its arsenals by replacing silos – based, liquid fueled missiles with more survivable mobile solid-fueled models. It is improving C2 systems for a large and dispersed mobile missile forces. China reportedly has 50-60 ICBMs. More so, China's longest range operational ICBMs include its silos-based, liquid fueled and two-stage Dong Feng (DF 5A) and road mobile solid fueled, three stage (SDF-31A). The short range DF-31 ICBMs has replaced the aging two staged DF-4 ballistic missiles. It is developing new versions of the DF31B missiles with improved, range accuracy and payload capability. Its ICBMs have ranges of 5,500 km -1300 plus km that are the DF-4, DF-5 and DF-31. Its DF-3A missiles range 3000 km. China's DF-15 and DF-21 ballistic missiles have ranges between 600 and 2,150 km correspondingly. At least 44 of China's long range missiles are capable of carrying total of 64 warheads that can reach the target in the US mainland.



South China Sea is now a major point of confrontation; nearly \$5.3 trillion of maritime trade passes every year

China is building DF-41, the latest road-mobile ICBM, which is capable of carrying multiple warheads. China is swapping its ICBMs and the liquid fueled-silos DF-5A systems with latest generation mobile, solid-fueled systems - DF-31A.⁵⁹ China reportedly stations latest road-mobile ICBMs and builds advanced road-mobile ICBMs with enhanced range. China is also working Multiple Independently-targetable Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs) technologies as recently it has stationed MIRVed silo-based ICBMs to penetrate the US missile defence system.

Aircraft carriers, destroyers, and nuclear powered attack submarines⁶⁰ and A2/AD systems are part of its maritime power projection. Due to lesser threat to its land border,⁶¹ China's major focus is on aerospace and naval modernization.⁶² The South China Sea now is a major point of confrontation. Nearly \$5.3 trillion of maritime trade passes this sea every year. China has developed a modern fleet of its SSBN, equipped with SLBMs.⁶³ It is reported that China's 094 Jin Class SSBN has propelled its first patrol lately. China has acquired three Jin-Class Submarines, each with potential to carry at least 12 SLBMs. More so, China possesses two categories of SLBMs, such as JL-1 (with range of 1000 km) and JL-2 (with range of 7000 plus km). China is working on latest SSBN, that is 096 Type.

The latest and long range Tang-Class submarine is in progress that may carry up to 24 SLBMs.

The PLAAF possess a limited quantity of nuclear gravity bombs that can be launched by the Hongza-6 (h-6) medium – range bomber and also a short range combat aircraft. China possesses two types of cruise missiles such as CJ-10 and CJ-20. CJ-10 is a ground-based cruise missile with estimated range of 1500 km and CJ-20 air launched cruise missile that is under development. It is advancing air defense capabilities to contribute to offensive and defensive operations, through providing strategic warning such as air attacks, anti-air missile defense, air-born operations and strategic air lift.⁶⁴ China is also pursuing missile defense capabilities.⁶⁵ It has purchased 4-6 Russian S-400 systems in 2018. These interceptors are capable of engaging targets at range of up to 400 km. There are no reports if China deploys its BMD systems, though it has the capability to trace and engage BMD systems. China has tested anti-satellite capabilities against the sun orbital objects. It has tested a nuclear capable hypersonic missile delivery vehicle. China possesses extensive modern offensive cyber capabilities.

China's Deployment of Inventories in Asia-Pacific: In the backdrop of recent developments, China is trying to achieve nuclear efficiency, and sufficiency. Major focus is maximization of power equation to raise its profile high in the global affairs and maximize its security in maritime domain. In addition to its perceived kinetic A2/AD capabilities, Beijing also appears to be pursuing preemptive options well before a conflict, with



Chinese aircraft carrier - Liaoning



the aim of eroding the US hegemonic designs, free mobility and operations in the Asia-Pacific.

Contention is that to maintain regional hegemony, China needs to improve maritime potential and deterrent force on the coast around the East and South China Sea. For Michael Beckley, China is not even close to match US military might in Asia.⁶⁶ China today lacks power potential to dominate the East Asia Coast.⁶⁷ China lacks potential or military power to initiate surprise attack, naval-blockade or strategic bombing against Taiwan due to its extremely sophisticated weapons systems, early warning systems and platforms provided by the US. The geographical and technological indicators suggest that Japan has a lasting A2/AD capability. Thus Japan can obstruct China's Sea and Air domination in the East China Sea.⁶⁸ More so, US dominance in the East Asian region, its potential military bases, and military superiority along with military preparation of other regional states can refute China Sea and air domination both in the Western or Southern parts of the South China Sea. China experiences formidable constraints and is unable to command major portions of its seas nearby.⁶⁹

Summing up, many of the measures adopted by the US are perceived by China as threatening its own security when it comes to the vicious circle of security dilemma. It goes without saying that China is gradually modernizing its defense forces and improving its maritime strength.

Anarchy leads to create fear and fear in turn would generate uncertainty between the two; both the states do not necessarily threaten each other, but they are not sure about their future moves

Analysis: Classical Systemic Security Dilemma becomes Permanent

Both US and China are behaving under anarchy as defensive realist states without aiming at harming each other. Although US and China are effectively moderating the security dilemma as both are working together on range of regional and global issues. For example, both jointly work on North Korean and Iranian nuclear ambitions, non-proliferation, climate change and global economic growth, and mitigation of global financial crisis. Both share thought on global governance, promote military to military relations in an effort to mitigate mistrust and misperceptions. Despite this, the US-China relationship has evolved into one of the most complex and consequential that leads to intensify bilateral competition. This reflects the existence of classical security dilemma between US and China and possibility of increased friction on deep rooted divergences as highlighted above. However, the security competition has driven the



Power competition between US and China creates an opportunity for India to bolster its economy and military power to raise its political profile/status

two states into a spiral of action-reaction chain that may drive them into a situation that was conceptualized by Butterfield.⁷⁰ Anarchy leads to create fear and fear in turn would generate uncertainty between the two. Both the states do not necessarily threaten each other, but they are not sure about their future moves given the rising economic influence of China spanning

India is cultivating its relationship with US to advance its parochial strategic broader interests and to create footprint in global market to buy sensitive hi-tech system and technologies

over Asia. To procure their economic gains, both lead to accumulate more and more power. This power competition such as US measures and China's countermeasures will lead to aggravate their fears and doubts about one another without institutionalizing any constructive mechanism to moderate severe security dilemma. The power gap seems to continue to sustain leading to escalation of tension between the two major rivals. Although experts have rejected the notion of 'Thucydides Trap'⁷¹ type of interaction between US and China⁷² but John Mearshimer's proposition that conflict is inevitable between a rising and established power⁷³ cannot be completely ruled out.

In this process, power competition between US and China creates an opportunity for India to bolster its economy and military power to raise its political profile/ status. India, due to its geo-political location has become critical actor to US defense strategy in rebalancing towards Asia. India's modernization plans – a chain reaction created by US and China – becomes one of the crucial parts of the systemic security dilemma.

India's Capability Based Modernization and Hedge against China

China and India had endured historic rivalry that goes back to Sino-Indian war of 1962. Despite this rivalry, the two states' economic volume is rising incredibly.⁷⁴ Although China has resolved many of its border conflict with its neighboring countries, it continues to have strategic rivalry with India. Beijing claims of northeast Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh while India does not recognize Beijing's jurisdiction over Aksai Chin Southwest China. Both also have claim on a small part of Kashmir that was ceded to China by Pakistan in the early 1960s.⁷⁵ These differences remain inaudible for many years. India's look/act East policy has revived some of the issues. Currently, China exceeds India four to five percent in terms of its economy and defence.⁷⁶ India certainly is in serious competition with China in order to match its wealth and power in the region.

The US considers India as an anchor or a so-called stabilizer of Asian order.⁷⁷ India is cultivating its relationship with the US in order to strengthen its own cushion to advance its parochial strategic broader interests and, more specifically, to create footprint in the global market to buy sensitive hi-tech systems and technologies to energize its wealth and power.⁷⁸ To contain China's rise, India has developed far reaching relations with the US and its regional alliances in the region. The US is one of the world's largest arms exporters to India at present. India conducts extensive military exercises with the US in recent times.⁷⁹ It is due to the fact that the two states strategic interests converge in the Asia pacific region. The section below shows how India plays hedge against China through extensive modernization of its land and naval forces that in turn exert pressure on Pakistan's national security and regional balance.



Indian Force Modernization

The global estimates suggest that India possesses 100-120 nuclear warheads of which 56 are housed in ground-based ballistic missiles. Nearly 48 of these warheads are grounded with gravity bombs while another 14 are laced with sea based ballistic missiles.⁸⁰ India's functioning ground-based ballistic missiles are of different ranges such as: Prithvi-II and Agni -I (shorter-range), Agni-II (the medium range-range), Agni-III (the intermediate range). The nuclear or conventionally laced Prithvi-II ranges between 250-350 km. Agni ballistic missile has possibly Prithvi's nuclear delivery role. Agni (700-km), Agni II (1000 km) Agni-III (3000km) had successful test launch. Nuclear capable, Agni-1 (road mobile) has a range of 700km. The short range of Agni variants is deployed in western parts of India mainly

India may not have substantial existential threat from China given its growing trade volume with China, although India's hedge against China in favour of US seems to create possibility for future confrontation between the two states



targeting Pakistan. Agni-II has a range of 2000 km. The Agni-III nuclear capable is 3200 km that is capable of hitting Shanghai which is possibly deployed in extreme Northern part of India.

The Agni-IV underwent a launch in 2015 and would undergo further test before entering services. Agni-II redesigned as Agni-IV incorporates advanced technological features, including composite rocket engines, improved stage separation and a state of the art navigation system. Agni-V/ ICBM was successfully launched in 2015 that allows India to target major Chinese cities including Beijing. India is currently developing MIRVs and more maneuverable warheads.

In air domain, the Indian Air Force has Mirage 2000H a (multi-role combat aircraft) capable of carrying nuclear gravity bombs. India is busy in advancing nuclear capable sea and air based delivery means. Along with Mirage 2000 H, India's Jaguar IS/ IB fighter-bombers are the most significant part of its nuclear strike force that are directed to China and Pakistan both.

At sea,⁸¹ India is building SLBMs. Its SSBN, the Arihant, was first boarded for a sea trial in 2014 and 2016. A second Arihant class nuclear submarine is under construction and development of the third submarine is also underway. India is building another SSBN, the Aridhaman, and aims at including four SSBNs in its existing inventory by 2020. The Arihant will carry K-15 SLBM with range of 700 km. K-15 combined aspects of both cruise and ballistic missiles. The second class of SLBMs is K-4 that has the range of up to 3500 km to hit targets in Pakistan, China, and the Indian Ocean. The K-4 would eventually replace K-15 in arming the Arihant class submarines. India is also working on K-5, SLBM of 5000 km range. More so, the 350 km Danush missile system also belong to a naval based Prithvi-II which in turn gives India a rudimentary sea based nuclear strike capability.

Cruise Missiles/BMDs/Air Defenses: India is also working on Nirbhay subsonic land-launched cruise missile that ranges between 700-1000 km and is designed for launch from land, air, and sea. India is furthering sea launched Nirbhay for

There is intense and severe evolving security dilemma in the Asia-Pacific between the US and China, China and India, India and Pakistan

Arihant Submarine. India may be working on Air-launched version for delivery by the Su-30MK1 combat aircraft.⁸² India is currently working the indigenization of BMD system laced with Advanced Air Defense (AAD) and Prithvi Air Defense (PAD) respectively. India has procured S-400 air defense system from Russian that is capable of engaging the short and medium range ballistic and cruise missiles. India is modernizing and its Mirage and Jaguar fighters and aims at procurement of nearly 36 Rafale aircrafts to gain air supremacy.

Hedging Policy and Deployment of New Technologies: India's Kiev-class and INS Vikramaditya aircraft carriers have entered examination in 2013. Reportedly, two of India's Vikrant-class aircraft carriers are aimed at entering their service by 2018 and 2025 respectively.⁸³ India projects that in the backdrop of confrontation with China, it can operationalize sea denial strategies such as sea obstruction to scuttle China's energy corridor in the IOR.⁸⁴ India established the two important bases such as Andaman and Nicobar Command in Port Blair aiming in order to advance its dominance in the Strait of Malacca to block China's possible penetration of the IOR. This important command has the ability to rapidly deploy its military assets in the region to safeguard its interests.⁸⁵ This raises questions for Pakistan and China both. Maximum of the \$14 billion worth weapons and technology that India has procured from the US in the last decade leads to enhancing its footprint in the broader IOR and on the Himalayan border against China.⁸⁶ These technologies include: C-130 Js, C17s, light howitzer artillery, UAVs, P-8 maritime surveillance aircraft, jet engine, and aircraft carriers.

India plans on acquiring six Scorpene-class diesel-electric submarines, from France and is building new destroyers, frigates and corvettes.⁸⁷ Indo-US Defence Trade Treaty Initiative (DTTI) and the two states' agreements on logistics Support would lead to increased operational competence and interoperability of India allowing US aircraft and ships to land and refuel on the Indian bases. India deceptively claims that it perceives its threat from China and Pakistan. Ambassador Tasnim Aslam stated that, 'India's batteries are stationed towards Pakistan and China, but its projection is global. China is certainly a factor in Indian military's calculations but it is more about prestige and power projection than maximization of security against China.'⁸⁸ Accumulation of India's material power and modernization of their



Nuclear-Missile Submarine - INS Arihant



deterrent force and missile ranges clearly suggest that their ambitions go beyond this region.⁸⁹

India may not have substantial existential threat from China given its growing trade volume with China, although India's hedge against China in favor of US seems to create possibility for future confrontation between the two states. While a senior Pakistani former diplomat assesses no possibility of war between India and China. He also said, 'India is displaying brinkmanship to maximize its relevance, but clearly both the states do not want to go down to the path of war or any confrontation as it would impact their economies.'⁹⁰ Ambassador Tasneem holds a similar view that, 'China has been accommodating India, as China does not want to be bogged down on its economy.'⁹¹ For Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, 'there is a dim possibility of war between a larger China and emerging India.' He confirms that 'India may not be a military threat to a rising China as both have their own reasons. Although China will continue to maintain its strategic dominance.'⁹²

China is certainly a factor in Indian military's calculations but it is more about prestige and power projection than maximization of security against China

Possibility of war between China and India may seem less acute but Indo-China power competition has led to create server security dilemma between India and Pakistan. Indo-Pakistan rivalry is historically so complex that has become more complicated than ever before in the backdrop of Indo-US alliance. India's forward military presence and its militarization of the Indian Ocean enhances its power-projection capabilities that in turn widens mistrust between India and Pakistan. These trends determine Pakistan's security environment (discussed in the subsequent section) when it comes to systemic security dilemma affecting Pakistan's geo-economic and security interests in the Southern Asian region.

Pakistan's Evolving Technologies and Security Environment

India and Pakistan are historical arch rivals. Pakistan perceives an existential threat from

Nasr is designed to offset India's Cold Start Doctrine under which India can launch limited conventional strikes against Pakistan under the nuclear overhang

Triangular relationship of US-China-India has direct impact on South Asian security environment, compelling Pakistan towards modernization of its own technologies

India. The triangular relationship of US-China-India has direct impact on South Asian security environment thereby compelling Pakistan towards modernization of its own technologies. Although the Western estimates suggest that Pakistan possesses, 140-150 warheads.⁹³ Pakistan possesses a limited number of nuclear-capable delivery platforms some of which are assigned a dual role such as both nuclear and conventional.

For Ground Operations, Pakistan possesses 6 land based ballistic missiles. Pakistan has developed short range missiles that are nuclear capable and such as Hatf-IX (Nasr, 60-70 Km). Nasr is designed to offset India's Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) under which India can launch limited conventional strikes against Pakistan under the nuclear overhang. The latest version of Nasr was test fired in January this year in order to ensure its 'extreme in-flight maneuverability.'⁹⁴ The road mobile Hatf-II (180km), Hatf-III (290km), and Hatf-IV (750km) are also the short-range ballistic missiles. Pakistan also has got a liquid-fueled, road mobile Hatf-V (Ghauri -1250 km) and the two stage, road mobile Hatf-VI (Shaheen-2 – 1500km). Pakistan developed a medium range Shaheen-III ballistic missile variant capable of carrying nuclear and conventional warheads against Indian Agni-V. This missile carries a range of 2,750 km⁹⁵ that is capable of reaching targets throughout India including Andaman and Nicobar Island.

In the air, Pakistan possesses F-16 A/B with range of 1600km. Later Mirage-5 combat aircraft was also assigned the nuclear role. Mirage-3 is developed for test flights of nuclear equipped Ra'ad - the air-launched cruise missile. 'The Pakistani Air Force is adding aerial refueling capability to the Mirage [in order to enhance] a nuclear strike mission.'⁹⁶ Pakistan has developed JF-17 fighters





Suspension of communications between India and Pakistan and a lack of arms restraint arrangement makes it more difficult for states to moderate the security dilemma as the likelihood and number of conflict scenarios have increased while avenues for cooperation have decreased

to replace aging of Mirage 5 and Mirage 5s. Pakistan might integrate Ra'ad – air launched cruise missile on to JF thunder. At sea, Pakistan has established Naval Strategic Forces Command to oversight the second strike force. It is assumed that the sea-based force consists of nuclear-armed, submarine-launched cruise missiles SLCMs-deployed on “Agosta-class” submarines or on surface ship.

Cruise Missiles and MIRVs Technologies:

There are two types of cruise missiles in Pakistan's inventory: the land-based Babur (Hatf-7)⁹⁷ that also is a Naval variant. Second one is the air-launched, Ra'ad (Hatf-8). Pakistan lately has MIRVed Ababeel, a ballistic missile against Indian BMD system and currently working on its improved accuracy.

The emergence of new technologies and weapons systems, such as BMD systems and MIRVs, sea-based systems, and short-range missiles, have made deterrence stability in South Asia increasingly fragile

Severity of Security Dilemma between India and Pakistan

Pakistan's evolving security posture is affected by a few plausible strategic changes occurring in the Southern Asian region. One, Indo-US growing strategic partnership has strengthened Pakistan's security concerns. Two, the suspension of communication between India and Pakistan and a lack of arms restraint arrangement makes it more difficult for states to moderate the security dilemma as the likelihood and number of conflict scenarios have increased while avenues for cooperation have decreased. Three, the emergence of new technologies and weapons systems, such as BMD systems and MIRVs, sea-based systems, and short-range missiles, have made deterrence stability in South Asia increasingly fragile. Four, India's recent procurement of S-400 - a long range multichannel air defence missile system (ADMS) from Russia seems to have destabilizing impact in the region. India has procured its five regiments, out of which three regiments will be deployed against Pakistan whereas two will be stationed at border with China.⁹⁸ For Pakistan, 'Russian S-400 missile system to India could destabilize the region.'⁹⁹ General Mazhar commented, 'we

are cognizant of all developments and will ensue deterrence stability at all costs.'¹⁰⁰ It seems this development may push Pakistan for production of more missiles systems in search of deterrence stability.

The demise of the INF treaty between US and Russia will fuel further arms race between US and China, driving India and Pakistan to the equation.¹⁰¹ Thus, it is safe to argue that the systemic security dilemma due to induction of sophisticated technology is currently shaping the strategic environment of the broader Southern Asian region. In South Asia, it is the consequence of India's power projection ambitions and its strategic alliance with the US and/or hedging policy against China that makes security dilemma relatively complex and unresolvable, thereby creating risks of war and miscalculations.

Conclusion and Findings

The study concludes that there is intense and severe evolving security dilemma in the Asia-Pacific between the US and China, China and India, India and Pakistan. This study draws plausible findings: One, evolving competition between the US and China will endure due to their political, strategic and economic differences in the Asia-Pacific region. Two, China's conflicts with Asian states and its claims on South or East China Sea are not going to resolve in the near future. This in turn



Babur Cruise Missile



There are high chances of security dilemma-driven arms racing trends, dangers of risk-taking and the likelihood of war

would aggravate conflicting relations between the two states. Three, US still remains the predominant sea power and maintains dominance in the Asian waters. China in turn will continue to modernize its own maritime power to preserve balance and moderate security threats. Similarly, the US-China power balance could lead to escalation of tension and conflicts thus having serious stability implications. This shifting distribution of power leads to more worries, uncertainty, and renewed chances for accidents and miscalculations. For John Ikenberry in the backdrop of this tense competitive evolving balance of power system, the realist guided anarchy will continue to triumph.¹⁰² He further confirms that there are high chances of security dilemma-driven arms racing trends, dangers of risk-taking, and the likelihood of war.¹⁰³ Four, considering Sino-Indian trade volume, it seems that India is working on not threat-centric, but capability-based defense modernization to project its supremacy in Asia as one of the emerging players. Thus, India's military modernization in turn increases Pakistan's insecurities. Strategic chain of these states could have destabilizing and irreversible effects.

This vicious cycle of arms race would worsen in the near future if not amicably controlled. Therefore, it is imperative that both the US and China initiate bilateral confidence building measures and institutionalize an inclusive bilateral arms control regime in order to promote a policy of accommodation thereby avoiding miscalculations or confrontations in Asia. Thus, India and Pakistan in parallel should resume bilateral dialogue and create a common ground to institutionalize restraint regimes in order to control growing arms race and minimize risks of accidental wars. It is vital that the two states implement an early restraint regime¹⁰⁴ to achieve regional strategic stability and peace.

Dr Rizwana Karim Abbasi is presently an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad. She is a PhD from University of Leicester, UK and specializes in International Security and Nuclear Non-proliferation

Notes

1. See Xenia Wickett, John Nilsson-Wright and Tim Summers, 'The Asia-Pacific Power Balance Beyond the US-China Narrative', Chatham House (September 2015): <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/research/20150924AsiaPacificWickettNilssonWrightSummersFinal.pdf>

2. See G John Ikenberry, 'The Rise of China and the Future of Liberal World Order', Lecture at Chatham House (7 May 2014): https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/field/field_document/20140507RiseofChina.pdf
3. See Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides Trap?* (Boston: New York 2017).
4. Herbert Butterfield, *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951), pp. 19-20.
5. John H. Herz, *Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jan., 1950), pp. 157-180.
6. Robert Jervis, 'Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,' *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167-214, p. 169.
7. *Ibid.* p. 170.
8. John H. Herz, *Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma*, p.157.
9. Charles Glaser, 'Will China's Rise lead to War? Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (March/April 2011), p.82.
10. See Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., LTD., 1940).
11. *Ibid.*
12. Bernard Brodie ed. *Absolute Weapons: Atomic Power and World Order* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1946), 76.
13. See Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides' Trap?* (Boston: New York 2017).
14. Vice Admiral Khan Hasham and Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, while speaking at an international conference on Strategic Coercion: Global Dynamics and South Asia, conducted by Center for Peace, Security and Development Studies (Karachi, 12 March 2019).
15. See Oliver Turner, 'China, India and the US Rebalance to the Asia Pacific: The Geopolitics of Rising Identities', *Geopolitics* Vol. 21, Issue 4 (2016).
16. Phillip C. Saunders, 'The Rebalance to Asia: U.S.-China Relations and Regional Security', National Defence University, INSS, August 2013.
17. Michael Berkley, 'The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia,' *International Security*, Vol.42, No.02 (Fall, 2017), p. 78.
18. Evan Braden Montgomery, 'Competitive Strategies against Continental Power: The Geopolitics of Sino-Indian-American Relations', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol.36, No.1 (2013), p. 81.
19. Charles Glaser, 'A U.S.-China Grand Bargain,' *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Spring 2015), p. 54.
20. See Victor D. Cha, *Powerplay: The Origins of American Alliance System in Asia* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016).
21. 'The Evolving US-Asia Alliance Network,' Center on International Cooperation (26 Oct., 2016): http://cic.nyu.edu/news_commentary/evolving-us-asia-alliance-network
22. *Ibid.*
23. Hans M. Kristensen, 'US Nuclear Forces', in *SIPRI Year Book 2017: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 616-618.
24. Quoted in Brian Kalman, Edwin Watson and South Front, 'The U.S. Nuclear Deterrent Triad. Can the U.S. Afford to Modernize it?', Centre for Research on Globalization (16 March 2016): <https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-u-s-nuclear-deterrent-triad-can-the-u-s-afford-to-modernize-it/5516253>
25. Hans M. Kristensen, 'US Nuclear Forces', *SIPRI YearBook 2017*, p. 611.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 614.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.* p. 615.
33. Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, 'United States nuclear forces, 2017', *Journal of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, Volume 73, Issue 1, 2017.
34. See, 'The U.S. Nuclear Arsenal: A Dangerous Vestige of the Cold War,' Union of Concerned Scientists, February 2014: <https://www.ucsusa.org/sites/default/files/legacy/assets/documents/nwgs/nuclear-arsenal-vestige-cold-war.pdf>
35. *Ibid.* p. 3.
36. 'The US has a Massive military presence in the Asia Pacific,' *Agence France-Presse*, p. 2: <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-08-11/us-has-massive-military-presence-asia-pacific-heres-what-you-need-know-about-it>
37. 'Asia: 2016 Index of US Military Strength', <http://index.heritage.org/military/2015/chapter/op-environment/asia/>
38. 'The US has a Massive military presence in the Asia Pacific,' p. 2.



39. Ibid.
40. Michael Berkley, 'The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia,' p. 81.
41. See Quadrennial Review, US Department of Defense, (March, 2014), p. 36:http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/2014_Quadrennial_Defense_Review.pdf
42. Ibid., p. 28.
43. Ibid.
44. Ashley Feinberg, 'Exclusive: Here Is A Draft Of Trump's Nuclear Review,' Huffpost (11 Jan 2018):https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-nuclear-posture-review-2018_us_5a4d4773e4b06d1621bce4c5
45. Kingston Reif, 'Trump Budget Boosts Nuclear Efforts,' Arm Contro, Today, April 2019: <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2019-04/news/trump-budget-boosts-nuclear-efforts>
46. 'Trump says US will withdraw from nuclear arms treaty with Russia,' The Guardian (21 Oct 2018): <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/20/trump-us-nuclear-arms-treaty-russia>
47. See Ahley J. Tellis, Alson Szalwinski and Michael Wills, Strategic Asia 2017-18: Power, Ideas and Military Strategy in the Asia-Pacific (Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017).
48. Zhao Tong, China's strategic Environment and Doctrine', in Robert Einhorn and W. P. S. Sidhu (eds.), The Strategic: Linking Pakistan, India, China and US, Brookings Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, Series Paper No. 14 (March, 2017), p. 17.
49. See Michael D. Swaine, Andrew N. D. Yang, Evan S. Medeiros, Assessing the Threat: The Chinese Military and Taiwan's Security (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2007).
50. Quoted in, Jan Hornat, 'The power Triangle in the Indian Ocean: China, India and the United States' Cambridge Review of International Affairs, vol. 29, Issue, 2 (2016), p. 5.
51. Alek Chance, 'The Belt and Road Initiative and the Future of Globalization,' The Diplomat (31 October 2017): <https://thediplomat.com/2017/10/the-belt-and-road-initiative-and-the-future-of-globalization/>.
52. Quoted in Kristien Bergerson, 'China's Efforts to Counter U.S. Forward Presence in the Asia Pacific', p. 4.
53. Justyna Szczudlik, 'China's Response to United States' Asia-Pacific Strategy', PISM policy paper, no.41 (October 2012), p.5: <https://www.scribd.com/document/165049932/China-Response-to-US-Strategy>
54. For interesting analysis on Chinese nuclear policy, see Jeffrey Lewis, The Minimum Means of Reprisal: China's Search for Security in the Nuclear Age (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007).
55. Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, 'Chinese Nuclear Forces, 2016,' Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (July 2016): <https://thebulletin.org/2016/july/chinese-nuclear-forces-20169627>.
56. Shanon N Kile and Hans M Kristensen, 'Chinese Nuclear Force', in SIPRI Year Book (2017), p.637.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. See Eric Gomez, Meet the DF-31AG and the DF-26: The Big Ballistic Missiles at China's Military Anniversary Parade' The Diplomat (08 August 2017): <https://thediplomat.com/2017/08/meet-the-df-31ag-and-the-df-26-the-big-ballistic-missiles-at-chinas-military-anniversary-parade/>.
60. Ronald O'Rourke, 'China Naval Modernization: Implications for US Capabilities – Background and Issues for Congress'. Congressional Research Service, (3 Feb 2011), pp. 24-29.
61. Robert D Kaplan, Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power (New York: Random House 201), p. 282.
62. Evan Braden Montgomery, 'Competitive Strategies against Continental Power', p. 84
63. Robert Einhorn and W. P. S. Sidhu (eds.), The Strategic: Linking Pakistan, India, China and US, Brookings Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Series Paper No. 14 (March 2017), p. 4.
64. Oriana Skylar and Michael S Chase, 'Long-Term Competition Between the United States and China in Military Aviation', SITC Research Briefs, Series 9 (2017), p. 2.
65. Doug Tsuruoka, 'China Pursuing Missiles Defenses', Asia Times, (19 Jan. 2018):
66. Ibid. p. 81.
67. Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, 'China's Overstretched Military', Washington Quarterly, vo.35, No.4 (Fall 2012).
68. Michael Berkley, 'The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia,' p. 98.
69. See more in Michael Berkley, 'The Emerging Military Balance in East Asia,' pp. 104-108.
70. Butterfield, History and Human Relations, pp.19-22
71. Graham Allison, the Thucydides Trap', Foreign Policy (June 9, 2017).
72. Face to face conversation of one of the authors with the U.S. officials in Washington (Jul 2018).
73. See John J. Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).
74. For interesting analysis on increasing trade volume between India and China, see Rong Wang and Cuiping Zhu, Annual Report on the Development of International Relations in the Indian Ocean Region (2016), (eds.) (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 53-77.
75. See Francine R. Frankel, 'The Breakout of China-India Strategic Rivalry and the Indian Ocean,' Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 64, No. 2, (Spring/ Summer, 2011), pp. 1-17.
76. Mahan Malik, Balancing Act: 'The China-India-US Triangle', World Affairs (Spring 2016), p. 2
77. Lisa Curtis, 'The Triangle Dynamic in Asia: The US, India, and China,' The Heritage Foundation, Paper No. 1017, (Washington D.C., 2007),<https://www.heritage.org/asia/report/the-triangular-dynamic-asia-the-us-india-and-china>.
78. Ibid. pp. 1-4.
79. Rajat Pandit, 'U.S. Pips Russia as Tope Arms Supplier to India,' The Times of India (13 August 2014): <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/US-pips-Russia-as-top-arms-supplier-to-India/articleshow/40142455.cms>.
80. Shannon N. Kile and Hans M. Kristensen, 'Indian nuclear forces', in SIPRI Yearbook 2017 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 641-646.
81. Yogesh Johsi and Frank O' Donnell, 'India's Evolving Nuclear Force and its Implications for U.S. Strategy in the Asia-Pacific', Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (June 2016), pp.3-11.
82. Ibid. 3-11.
83. Jan Hornat, 'The power Triangle in the Indian Ocean,' p. 8.
84. Shahank Joshi, 'Why India is becoming warier of China, Current History, 735, 156-161.
85. Quoted in Jan Hornat, 'The power Triangle in the Indian Ocean', p. 5.
86. Mahan Malik, 'Balancing Act: The China-India-US Triangle,' p. 3.
87. Siddhart Srivastava, 'India's nuclear Submarine plan surfaces,' Asia Times (20 February 2009).
88. Authors interview with a Pakistani Ambassador, Tasneem Aslam, who was a career diplomat and formerly served as the spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Islamabad, February 2019).
89. Anonymous, Authors Interview with a high profile military officer who wished to remain anonymous (Rawalpindi, February 2019).
90. Authors interview with Zamir Akram who is a former Ambassador of Pakistan and currently advisor to the Strategic Plans Division (Islamabad, February 2019).
91. Authors Interview with Tasneem Aslam.
92. Authors interview with Zafar Nawaz Jaspal who is Professor at Quaid-i-Azam University (Islamabad, February 2019).
93. Hans M. Kristensen, Robert S. Norris, and Julia Diamond, 'Pakistani Nuclear Force, 2018,' Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (2018), Vol. 74, No. 5, pp. 348-358, p. 348.
94. 'Pakistan conducts another successful test launch of ballistic missile Nasr' Dawn (31 January 2019): <https://www.dawn.com/news/1461016>
95. ISPR Press Release, No PR-61/2015-ISPR, March 09, 2015: <https://www.ispr.gov.pk/press-release-detail.php?id=2804>
96. Ibid. p. 349.
97. Pakistan's ISPR Press release: No PR-10/2017-ISPR, Rawalpindi - January 09, 2017: <https://www.ispr.gov.pk/press-release-detail.php?id=3672>
98. Pranab Dhal Samanta, 'Russian S-400 Triumf gives India an edge against Pakistan, China,' The Economic Times, (13 Jul. 2018): <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/russian-s-400-gives-india-an-edge-against-pakistan-china/articleshow/54893457.cms>
99. 'Russia's Sale of S-400 Missiles to India may destabilize Region,' Dawn (20 October 2018).
100. Author's interview with former Director General of Pakistan Strategic Plans Division.
101. Rizwana Abbasi, 'Arms Control in Crisis', The Geopolitics, 06 April 2019: <https://thegeopolitics.com/arms-control-in-crisis/>
102. G. John Ikenberry, 'From Hegemony to the Balance of Power: The Rise of China and American Grand Strategy in East Asia', International Journal of Korean Unification Studies Vol. 23, No. 2, (2014), pp. 41-63, p. 53.
103. Ibid.
104. Pakistan did propose India a nuclear restraint regime (NRR) in 1999 but India categorically refused to accept.

THE PROSPECTS AND PANACEA OF PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA



Lt Gen Raza Muhammad Khan HI (M), (Retd)

Abstract

The primary perils of peace in South Asia emanate from the sub-continental milieu, the mayhem in Afghanistan, the association of state sponsored terrorism with these two factors, the threats to the CPEC and the invasion of digital domains. The region is also unstable since SAARC is dysfunctional due to Indian machinations and the absence of any other, well-anchored regional security framework that is able to arbitrate and mitigate rising tensions or resolve differences among neighbours. The Indian decision to disturb the status quo in IOJK in August 2019 is fraught with many hazards that needs adroit management through a bold, all-inclusive and adequately resourced Pakistani policy on the subject; with emphasis on external measures, to pressurize India to change its policies. For this purpose, among other measures, a domestic and international Kashmir Fund should be constituted, which could be crowd sourced, like the CJP's and the PM's 'dam fund', with tax incentives for donations. Corporate businesses, the world over have built-in arbitration, persuasion and mediation mechanisms, through which they settle disputes. There is no reason why peace cannot return to the sub-continent through these means. Pakistan's vulnerability has amplified due to the protracted conflict in Afghanistan. The ongoing Afghan peace process must therefore follow a steady course, for a genuine and lasting peace in Asia. Foreign forces cannot stay in Afghanistan forever and any political dispensation that runs contrary to the interests of Pakistan will miscarry. That is a historic reality that the West can ignore at its own peril. The US 'rebalancing' to Asia to contain China's rise is stoking instability, and encouraging India and others to press their own agendas that include opposition to the CPEC. This is detrimental to peace and development in Eurasia. However the Pakistani people have exhibited resilience to make the CPEC a success. For this reason alone, Asian governments need to partner with Pakistan to shelter it from the many foreign proxies of chaos. The government must spread awareness about the disinformation dangers that we are facing, through well-structured and elaborate, information and media security policies that caters to the vicissitudes of our digital domain. There is no better panacea for aligning the hopes and prospects of a lasting peace and harmony in South Asia and Pakistan, than adopting the key recommendations outlined in this treatise.

Keywords: *Security Environment, Kashmir Policy, Afghan Policy, Defense of CPEC, Security of Digital Domain, Media Policy, Recommendations and Conclusions*



With home to approximately 2 billion people or about one fourth of the world's population, South Asia is the most densely populated geographical region in the world.

Regrettably, the range of traditional threats to peace, stability and security in this region is also very broad and has expanded immensely as a consequence of the Indian actions in August, to illegally annex and divide, the part of Kashmir occupied by it. South Asia is also unstable since SAARC is dysfunctional due to Indian machinations and the absence of any other, well-anchored regional security framework that is able to arbitrate and mitigate rising tensions or resolve contentious issues among neighbours, through preventive diplomacy. According to one UNHCR estimate, this region has the second largest number of people in distress. They include over two million registered and another one million unregistered refugees in Pakistan, since the last three decades. This has made Pakistan the most vulnerable country to mass movement, militants, trafficking of drugs and arms from Afghanistan, where 43 countries led by the US, have been involved in fighting for nearly two decades, but peace has not returned to that country as yet.

With the proliferation of the internet, nowadays, nothing can escape exaggeration, distortion and fabrication to manipulate perceptions on crucial issues of peace and security

The US efforts to contain China's rise is also stoking instability, and encouraging India and others to press their own agendas, to the detriment of regional and global peace. This includes opposition to the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), of which the CPEC is a vital component and which can fetch unprecedented prosperity and peace dividends for Asia and indirect benefits to many of the 32 littoral states of the Afro-Asian (Indian) Ocean. All this is triggering a new cold war scenario in the region.

In the past, vigilance worked as a simple defense against propaganda, on the premise that the media was trustworthy and reliable. With the proliferation of the internet, nowadays,

US efforts to contain China's rise is also stoking instability, and encouraging India and others to press their own agendas, to the detriment of regional and global peace



There are over two million registered and another one million unregistered refugees in Pakistan

nothing can escape exaggeration, distortion and fabrication to manipulate perceptions on crucial issues of peace and security, denoted above. The fear of these threats has often caused a visible societal and international response and suspicion that could lead, as in the past, to reactions that are disproportionate to the magnitude of such threats.

The linkages of these challenges and threats are as important as their dynamics and the reach of some is such that they can defeat most peace efforts.

Scope and Purpose of the Treatise

While peace in South Asia is held hostage by many of the preceding factors, this treatise shall focus mainly on the principal dangers that emanate from the environment in the sub-continent; the turmoil in Afghanistan, the linkage of state sponsored terrorism with these two factors, the associated threats to the CPEC and the invasion of our digital domain, with a view to proffer conclusions and recommendations, that might align the hopes and prospects of a lasting peace in the Region.

Standoff in the Sub-Continent

The nuclear flash point of Kashmir blinked dangerously after the carefully stage-managed drama at Pulwama in IOJK, the Indian aggression at Balakot in February and the annexation of IOJK by India in August, but lamentably, the world did not bother enough about these perilous events. Due to Modi's re-election, all South Asian countries, but mainly Pakistan, have now to contend with an India where there is an upsurge in the exhibition of fascism, xenophobic-nationalism, militarism, egoism, bigotry, religion and caste divisions, disregard for human rights, an arrogant and illogical approach of rejecting dialogue and mediation on contentious issues. This outlook is a serious threat to peace, as may be the receding voices in India, in support of averting war with Pakistan, due to the ubiquitous



Increased proliferation of WMDs, due to Indo-US nuclear deal and the RSS hold over Indian nuclear weapons and its armed forces, should particularly alarm all Asian nations about nuclear security

hold and influence of the RSS over the BJP regime. Increased proliferation of WMDs, due to Indo-US nuclear deal and the RSS hold over Indian nuclear weapons and its armed forces, should particularly alarm all Asian nations about nuclear security. Mr Modi's official and on the record statements about fomenting terror in Balochistan and Gilgit Baltistan, his overt threats about the use of nuclear weapons against Pakistan in February, Indian adventures and proliferation in space and acute politicization of the Indian armed forces for political gains are indeed very ominous events, which have seriously disturbed the strategic balance in the sub-continent and gravely endangered global, as well as Asian peace and tranquility. Exploitation of Pakistan's economic susceptibilities¹, internal security, political vulnerabilities, along with efforts at Pakistan's international isolation, defeating its policies in Afghanistan and making it difficult for it to manage internal political balance may continue. This policy seems to have worked for India for some time, causing euphoria among the rulers in Delhi but Pakistan has managed to thwart it, so far. Pakistan's goodwill gesture to open the Kartarpur Corridor has also been overshadowed by the recent events in IOJK.

It is also exploiting the leverage of its upper riparian status, to denude Pakistan of its fair share of water from the Indus, Chenab and the Jhelum rivers

As a reaction to the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35 A, of the Indian constitution, IOJK is likely to witness the worst incidents of human rights violations. The UNSC met on the matter, after 50 years, on 16 August, and China's UN envoy stated afterwards that the 'UNSC members had serious concerns about the situation, including the human rights situation and that it was the general view of members that parties concerned should refrain from taking any unilateral action that might further aggravate the tension there'. Despite the expression of concern on the matter by the UN, US, EU, OIC, Amnesty International and other regional and global humanitarian organizations, India may increase the barbaric use of pellet guns to silence the protestors on its side of the LOC, after the curfew is lifted in IOJK.

Clear and present dangers of ethnic cleansing and mass killings in IOJK, have also been warned by the 'Genocide Watch'. The continuous violation of the LoC by India and targeting innocent civilians with cluster ammunition in Azad Kashmir has concomitantly made the situation 'explosive', as recently observed by US President Trump,² but India continues to deny this and blames Pakistan for the indigenous freedom movement in IOJK and elsewhere. It is also exploiting the leverage of its upper riparian status, to denude Pakistan of its fair share of water from the Indus, Chenab and the Jhelum rivers. Indian leaders have spoken of the possibility of more 'surgical strikes', disregarding the hazards of conflict escalation. Such a scenario has the potential to endanger peace in the sub-continent like never before.

Indian State Sponsored Terrorism

India is now using both covert and overt means to destabilize and terrorize Pakistan, albeit at a visibly bigger scale and with greater impunity. Though backing terrorists in Balochistan by India has no locus standi, they are doing this to equate it with the issue of IOJK, knowing full well that the former is a gross violation of UN Charter and its many resolutions against terrorism, while the latter has been legitimized by scores of UNSC resolutions. Using Afghan refugees, RAW operatives, Pakistani Taliban and Baloch dissidents, India has unleashed waves of terror all over Pakistan. As confessed by Commander Kulbhushan Jadhav, the Indian government has established terror networks for such activities in other neighbouring countries. Sabotaging the economic growth in Pakistan, disrupting the CPEC, diverting attention from IOJK and embroiling Pakistani armed forces in internal security are strategic Indian objectives. This is a unique and explicit example of blatant misuse of the land of many countries for international



As confessed by Commander Kulbhushan Jadhav, the Indian government has established terror networks for such activities in other neighbouring countries



Pakistan's foreign policy objectives on Afghanistan are principled and unambiguous. It therefore supports a peaceful, prosperous and friendly Afghanistan

terrorism, yet India raises this bogey at worldwide forums and ironically benefits from it.

The Afghan Peace Process

By now, the US seems to have learnt that democracies, including the one in Afghanistan are built on the 'free' will of the people and that Hobbesian approaches didn't succeed in Afghanistan even when it was a monarchy, so reliance on public support to government decisions is even more important for the peace process there. Pakistan's foreign policy objectives on Afghanistan are principled and unambiguous. It therefore supports a peaceful, prosperous and friendly Afghanistan. For this, we have paid a cost that's heavier than the one born by all the states which form part of coalition forces in Afghanistan. While Pakistan must support every effort that can end the war in Afghanistan, it can- not do any more than what it has already done. The fact is that this has also been Pakistan's longest war, wherein, its losses in blood and treasure surpass the combined cost of its many wars with India. But the joint statement by the Governments of the United States, Russia, Pakistan, and China on the occasion of the Four-Party Meeting on the Afghan Peace Process, held in Beijing on July 10 - 11, 2019, has raised the first real hopes for peace in Afghanistan. The four sides called on all stake holders to 'grasp the opportunity for peace and immediately start intra-Afghan negotiations between the Taliban, Afghan government, and other Afghans. They re-affirmed negotiations should be "Afghan-led and Afghan-owned" and further agreed that these negotiations should produce a peace framework as soon as possible.



Four-Party Meeting on the Afghan Peace Process, held in Beijing (10 - 11 July, 2019)

This framework should guarantee the orderly and responsible transition of the security situation and detail an agreement on a future inclusive political arrangement acceptable to all Afghans. All parties to the conflict were also 'encouraged to take steps to reduce violence leading to a comprehensive and permanent ceasefire that starts with intra-Afghan negotiations'³. This was indeed an encouraging development that was reinforced by the visit of the Pakistani prime minister and COAS to the United States in July 2019. President Trump's directive to the US State Department to 'end the endless wars'; in the same month looked like a positive change, but this was diluted by his abrupt decision to end talks with the Afghan Taliban in September. Withdrawing US troops from Afghanistan was one of President Trump's major campaign promises. This could lead to an escalation of the conflict in Afghanistan that may neither be in Trump's political, US strategic or regional interests. Pakistani efforts for the continuation of the Afghan Peace process that was started by Mr. Zalmay Khalil Zad, and the Afghan Taliban's similar desire, expressed during their visit to Islamabad in

Sabotaging the economic growth in Pakistan, disrupting the CPEC, diverting attention from IOJK and embroiling Pakistani armed forces in internal security are the strategic Indian objectives

October, indicates that the possibility of peace may not be entirely lost. However, unless addressed, all hopes and initiatives of peace can be obstructed by the following nine dilemmas: First; the ludicrous Afghan claims on Pakistani territory that hinders border management, promotes trans-border terrorist threats and has caused horrendous losses and miseries to the people of both countries. Second; over 2 million Afghan refugees remain in various parts of Pakistan who seem to have been forgotten by the world and their own rulers. Third; in the past, the international community tried to help rebuild Afghanistan, mostly by replacing local capacity rather than strengthening it. This does not seem to have worked and one is concerned about the danger of a flare up of a humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan when the US and NATO withdrawal gathers further momentum in the coming years. Four; even if peace returns to Afghanistan as a consequence of such parleys, it may be short lived unless verifiable and implementable mechanisms are put in place for the purpose. Five; post conflict disarming, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants will be an arduous task, requiring international help. Six; the issue of the economic support of Afghanistan and the sustenance of its



Bomb Blast in Kabul on 17 August, 2019

armed forces may be the most crucial factor for the stability of Afghanistan and the region. Seven; the world may forget to compensate Pakistan for its unparalleled sacrifices including the cost of sheltering millions of Afghan refugees, despite its own scanty means. Eight; that there are large ungoverned areas in Afghanistan, from where IS, TTP and terrorists are posing threats to Pakistan and Afghanistan's other neighbours, and finally, that Afghanistan's dubious distinction of leading the world in opium production will affect us the most. Thus, the peace process in Afghanistan must include answers to all these predicaments.

Of greater concern are the numerous efforts and international conspiracies, engineered by India and supported by others, to sabotage the CPEC. It was reported by the media on 14 Nov 2018 that RAW had established a special cell at a cost of \$500 million, for the purpose

Threats to the CPEC

Pakistan is clearly poised to transform its own socio-economic future besides altering the destinies of the people of Asia through the CPEC, for good. However, India is creating overt and covert hurdles in the path of the CPEC and encouraging competitive, rather than cooperative reactions. Rival projects like the 'New Silk Road Package', in partnership with Afghanistan and the 'Indo-Pacific Freedom Corridor' in collaboration with the US,

Japan and others; have been prompted by the CPEC and actively sponsored by India. Similarly, Indian investments in the Iranian port of Chahbahar are intended to contest with the growth of Gwadar port. China and Pakistan have rightly not shown any aversion to the competition, though India has already been sponsoring terrorism in the region to disrupt CPEC. Of greater concern are the numerous efforts and international conspiracies, engineered by India and supported by others, to sabotage the CPEC. It was reported by the media on 14 Nov 2018 that RAW had established a special cell at a cost of \$500 million, for the purpose. Indian hostile activities in Pakistan intensified within days of the inauguration of the CPEC shipments. First, an Indian submarine illegally sneaked into Pakistani waters near Gwadar, in Nov 2016, on a clandestine mission against the port but it beat a hasty retreat when challenged by the Pakistan Navy. Other attempts include numerous Indian terrorist activities in Balochistan, that are mentioned in the confessions of Commander Jhadev, advertisements with malicious content about Balochistan, in Geneva in September and then in London in November. Earlier, US Congressman Rohrabacher had spoken about of the 'right' of the people of Balochistan to 'self-determination' at Washington in 2012 and at London in 2013⁴. In Oct 2017, the US Defense Secretary parroted Indian objections to the CPEC, during a congressional hearing⁵. Media reports in Nov 2018, revealed that the Indian NSA, Ajit Doval tried to seek Afghanistan's permission in October, to set up a "small security presence" in Badakhshan province⁶, close to the Pakistan and China border, probably to sabotage the CPEC in GB or even in Kyrgyzstan. India is also being



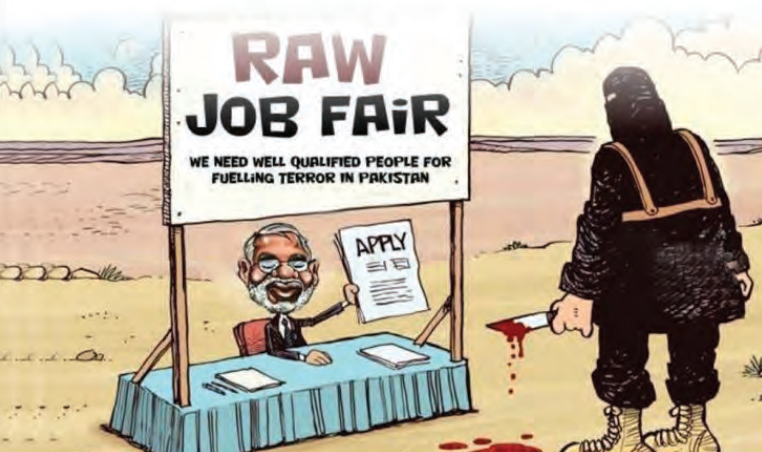
Indian NSA, Ajit Doval tried to seek Afghanistan's permission to set up a "small security presence" in Badakhshan province, close to Pakistan and China border, probably to sabotage the CPEC

encouraged to secure "small military bases" in Tajikistan, for the same purpose⁷. India is likely to continue its links with the TTP, Jamaat al Ahraar, BLA and BLF terrorists in Afghanistan, for creating chaos in Balochistan and GB, to sabotage the CPEC.

Frequent disinformation campaigns about CPEC, as part of its hybrid war, have also simultaneously been launched inside Pakistan. All these highly provocative actions are part of a well thought and integrated conspiracy that is tantamount to an undeclared war, as they pose a direct threat to the national interests of not only China and Pakistan but many other countries that could benefit from the BRI and the CPEC. US support to India on the matter under their environment is very short sighted indeed. These provocations threaten the vital economic interests of not only China and Pakistan but all the 68 countries which are part of the BRI. This is an infringement of the UN charter and a matter of grave concern for the region and the world. However, Afghanistan is unfortunately playing a second fiddle role for the main antagonists of the CPEC. Last year, the Afghan President, Mr. Ashraf Ghani, made his country's support to the CPEC conditional with Indian use of Pakistani land routes, for Afghan transit trade, in the presence of US Secretary of State Mr. Tillerson at Delhi, knowing well that Pakistan cannot allow this, due to lack of capacity, over congestion and saturation of the existing infra-structure and security reasons⁸.

RAW

Indian Intelligence Agency RAW is supporting BLA terrorists to destabilize Pakistan China relations



Invasion of Our Digital Domain

Due to proliferation of smartphones, TV channels and the internet, everyone is subjected to information salvos on our screens, most of which comprise unauthentic, divisive and even fearful images. Many fake messages are spread through automated algorithms; that go viral and leave an exacting impression on our minds. Recognizing this, intelligence agencies of major powers have commissioned numerous public and private media outlets and agencies, to profile opinions of selected audiences, both foreign and domestic, governments and NGOs, through information flows and leaks. For instance, the US DoD approves of perception management and defines it as 'actions to convey or deny selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives and objective reasoning....'⁹ Another official US document (Joint Publication 3-13), posits that '...Information operations are meant to 'influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp the decision making of adversaries ...'¹⁰ India has actively pursued such actions in Afghanistan, as a consequence of which many Afghans now blame Pakistan for all their difficulties. Cyber surveillance of social networks is also a regular part of such foreign efforts. These trends and opinions are then manipulated by a combination of truth and lies, deception, ambiguity and psychological processes to generate and feed fabricated information to us. This phenomenon is being used against Pakistan by multiple hostile foreign intelligence agencies for spreading false narratives about the Pakistan Army and its intelligence agencies. Far more menacing are the chronicles, comprising many myths and doubts on fundamental and crucial matters, which are constantly being propagated. The 'Two-Nation Theory' is criticized; Afghanistan's preposterous stance on the border issues with Pakistan is justified; a vicious propaganda is directed against Kashmiris, whose legitimate efforts for self-determination are branded as terrorism. Furthermore, Pakistani efforts to persuade the warring factions in Afghanistan for talks with the regime in Kabul are labeled as 'links with terrorists'; Pakistan's sacrifices in blood and treasure in its war against terrorists and its remarkable patience in the face of Indo-Afghan provocations are ignored or undermined, while the insidious Indian role in Afghanistan is acclaimed. Controversies about CPEC are being generated; doubts about the safety of our nuclear

India is likely to continue its links with the TTP, Jamaat al Ahraar, BLA and BLF terrorists in Afghanistan, for creating chaos in Balochistan and GB, to sabotage the CPEC



Controversies about CPEC are being generated; doubts about the safety of our nuclear assets are being created; dissidents are represented as liberators

assets are being created; dissidents are represented as liberators; and, sometimes, Pakistan is called a failing state. These dangerous fables and themes have already polluted some unsuspecting minds, due to which they are inadvertently or willfully repeated by a section of the local media. This dangerous assault on our digital space must be repelled as part of our national security strategy.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Dealing with India

Given the obtaining milieu and the Indian policies and provocations alluded earlier in this rendition, it is probable that India could push Pakistan to the brink of war and beyond, while it falsely hopes for a military victory. However, should the Indian leaders be tempted towards

factor. Fourth; today, the Pakistani armed forces are still numerically inferior to that of its adversaries, but they have a robust conventional and nuclear capability, to effectively frustrate any aggression and inflict unacceptable losses on the invader. Fifth; despite concerted, state-sponsored efforts by India to destabilize Pakistan, we have almost won the war against domestic and foreign terrorists. This has created new opportunities for economic revival and attracted major foreign investments that will ensure that Pakistan can sustain essential expenditure on its defense and security. Finally, India's support to Pakistani dissidents and its belligerent actions and propaganda has had two positive effects. It has revived and revalidated the two-nation theory and visibly united the people of Pakistan. These are, indeed, the most reassuring developments for us. Thus, if India dares to indulge in any misadventure against Pakistan, it will witness an ignominious defeat. Needless to say, Pakistan's response will be swift and measured, like the one to repel the attack at Balakot and it must not hesitate to use any or all means at its disposal to defend itself. In the event of a war, India may itself disintegrate due to its enhanced vulnerabilities in IOJK since



adoption of this approach, the following ground realities should sober them up. These should also provide confidence to our national security planners for a response: First; the Pakistan of 2019 is very different from what it was in 1971 as the trinity of the military, the people and the government is united in the country's defence. Second; our politicians have learnt to share power, in accordance with the people's desire expressed through the ballot. Third; unlike 1971, all federating units in Pakistan are now geographically contiguous, well-connected through road, rail and air infra structure and are socio-economically integrated, with Urdu as an additional unifying

August, many fissiparous tendencies elsewhere, and abhorrence of minorities, extreme arrogance, racist philosophy and obstinacy.

Pakistani armed forces are still numerically inferior to that of its adversaries, but they have a robust conventional and nuclear capability, to effectively frustrate any aggression and inflict unacceptable losses on the invader



The leaders of big powers must show courage and resolve to implement UNSC Resolutions or give consent to some other form of international intercession to bring peace to IOJK

As bilateralism has constantly proved to be a false proposition in the Indo-Pakistan relations, facilitation, followed by mediation and finally arbitration by the UN or any other mutually agreed third party is the right and the only approach to settle disputes. While doing so, efforts that ignore the will of the Kashmiris are unlikely to succeed and the damage caused by a future catastrophe, arising out of Kashmir dispute, shall not be limited to the Subcontinent. The onus of such a disaster shall lie on the permanent members of the UNSC, for their indifference and apathy towards the conflict in IOJK. Meanwhile, Pakistan must warn the US that frequent Indian threats will compel it to shift its forces from its Western borders. That could adversely affect peace in Afghanistan, for which Modi must be held accountable.

The leaders of the big powers must show the courage and resolve to implement the UNSC Resolutions or give consent to some other form of international intercession to bring peace to IOJK. The International Court of Justice (ICJ), which is the judicial organ of the UN, could also provide a fresh interpretation of UNSC Resolutions on Kashmir under Article 38 of its statute to resolve the issue. The goal of peace will remain a dream for the people of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and the South Asian region, unless the issue of Kashmir is resolved through the existing UN Resolutions which are based on the universal right of the people to self-determination. Any other formula for peace in IOJK that is not endorsed by the UN or a third party arbitration will be politically unacceptable and difficult to rationalize, both in India, as well as Pakistan. Irrespective of the IOJK situation, the Kartarpur initiative must be facilitated and progress.

Revamping the Kashmir Policy

Pakistan's present policy on Kashmir is based on diplomatic, moral and political support to the freedom struggle in the IOJK, for a plebiscite, as enunciated in the UNSC resolutions. Thus, while the UNSC meeting on Kashmir in August 2019 and our efforts in the UNGA in October, to highlight the matter further, were significant to peruse this policy per se, yet it might take the UN many more years to resolve the issue, unless our policy on the subject is reassessed. The contours of a revised Kashmir policy are outlined in the ensuing

text. First, a domestic and international Kashmir Fund needs to be constituted, which could be crowd sourced, like the CJP and PM's dam fund. The government should provide tax incentives for donations to this fund. As the federal government cannot support this effort, due to its meagre resources, post the 18th Amendment, it must encourage the provinces to allocate at least one percent of their NFC shares and earnings for the purpose. This fund needs to be controlled directly by the PM, through the new team, with oversight by the Ministry of Finance. Among other purposes, the fund must be used for preventing human rights violations in IOJK, informing the Indian masses and liberal intellectuals about the colossal cost in terms of treasure and blood, of enslaving nine million Kashmiris for over 70 years, and exposing the lies of the Indian government on the matter. Kashmiri diaspora, both from AJK and IOJK need to be integrated in the planning and implementation of the policy, through our diplomatic missions, all over the world, particularly in the P5 countries. If needed, the Foreign Office must hire lobbyist, specifically for the Kashmir cause in capitals of chosen countries. Our relationship with the big powers, particularly the OIC, must be based on their stance about the Kashmir issue and this must be unambiguously communicated to all. A special OIC summit must be convened at Islamabad to apprise the members about the plight of the 210 million Kashmiris and Indian Muslims for a united response. As India's action has also challenged China's sovereign interests, our policy must be closely coordinated with it. PEMRA must instruct all private media to allocate daily time and space for highlighting the matter. The Ministry of Information must buy airtime on foreign media to correct the international perceptions about IOJK, for which India has itself created the conditions. Pakistan must initiate legal efforts at the ICC, ICJ, and UN to dissuade India from breach of the Geneva Conventions, Hague Regulations; ethnic cleansing, genocide or demographic alterations in IOJK. The MoK&GB must be mandated to coordinate all affairs related to the IOJK as well, contingency planning to deliver international humanitarian aid or providing shelter to Kashmiri refugees, whenever needed. The Kashmir Parliamentary Committee must expound the reasons for its inability to accomplish their assigned mission, in a special joint sitting of the parliament. India must also be warned that violation of the Indus water

Pakistan's present policy on Kashmir is based on diplomatic, moral and political support to the freedom struggle in IOJK, for a plebiscite, as enunciated in UNSC resolutions



India must also be warned that violation of the Indus water Treaty will be treated as aggression and responded accordingly

Treaty will be treated as aggression and responded accordingly¹¹. With the help of the OIC countries and China, Pakistan can garner the support of enough UN members to pass a resolution at the UNGA, through a simple majority vote, next year, in support of the earlier UNSC resolutions on the subject. The focus of our efforts should be on international, rather than domestic measures in support of our revised policy; to pressurize India. Finally, Pakistan must make any dialogue with India conditional with the reversal of all illegal measures, taken by it in August, and inclusion of third party, preferably UN mediators in the process.

‘The IOJK situation is fraught with many perils that need adroit management through a bold, all-inclusive and adequately resourced policy; restructuring and accountability of concerned state institutions. Concomitantly, the big powers need persistent forewarnings, that unless India is prevented from human rights violations in IOJK non-state actors will emerge again, whose response could be unpredictable and unrestricted. This could be cataclysmic for Asian peace’¹² and Pakistan’s security. Thus, we must take the recent threats, arising out of Indian actions in IOJK very seriously and nurture no complacency due to the past successes of the National Action Plan.

A 50,000 strong UN peace enforcement contingent to Afghanistan must be deployed to provide stability to the new regime for 2 years, before the complete withdrawal

IMPERATIVES OF THE AFGHAN PEACE PROCESS

Redesigning through Vivid Panacea Exposition

The current efforts for restoration of peace in Afghanistan, without grossly undermining the power contender’s divergent positions, are indeed an arduous undertaking. It’s a task similar to brokering the Geneva Accords in the 80’s that led to the Soviet departure from Afghanistan. It must therefore outline unambiguous conditions for all agreements which must be unanimously backed by the OIC and mandated by the UNSC or vice versa. It must hold the Afghan rulers accountable for any disunity and include the establishment

Pakistan must make any dialogue with India conditional with the reversal of all illegal measures, taken by it in August, and inclusion of third party, preferably UN mediators

of an interim government to hold fresh elections, that are monitored by neutral observers and which ensures the participation of all elements of the Afghan polity. Afterwards, the interim government must assist in the revision of the current Afghan constitution to the satisfaction of all stake holders. The new government must partner with Pakistan to counter terrorists and jointly augment border management efforts. In order to avoid a civil war of the kind, seen after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, a 50,000 strong UN peace enforcement contingent to Afghanistan must be deployed to provide stability to the new regime for 2 years, before the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. Soft loans from the IMF, WB and ADB for Afghanistan must also be an integral part of the plan. Pakistan must make its support to the new rulers in Kabul, conditional with their recognition of the border between the two countries, expelling hostile intelligence agencies’ agents from Afghanistan and handing over the TTP leaders to Pakistan.

The Afghan leaders must hold themselves accountable, be honest with their people and the international community and collaborate with Pakistan to minimize the problems associated with the transition towards peace. Unless this is done, Afghanistan cannot recover from the path of failure. If Afghanistan continues to live in the past, myopically opposes Pakistani efforts to strengthen and improve its control at its Western borders, believes in disinformation of Indian and other intelligence agencies, allows the use of its soil for a proxy war in Pakistan and shies away from a political solution to its conundrum, the writ of its government will surely shrink further, with devastating consequences for the region.

Afghans must be told that foreign forces will not stay in their country forever and that a political dispensation that runs contrary to the interests of

The Afghan leaders must hold themselves accountable, be honest with their people and the international community and collaborate with Pakistan to minimize the problems associated with the transition towards peace



Pakistan will miscarry. That is a historic reality that Afghanistan and the West can ignore at their own peril. This will be a slow, gradual process, but the only one to promise a genuine and lasting peace in Afghanistan.

Protecting the CPEC

Though challenges to CPEC appear daunting but they can be surmounted. The Pakistani foreign office has taken note of some of more serious developments and has initiated appropriate action to condemn and reject hostile measures against the CPEC, calling them as an infringement of the UN charter and impingement of Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. There is a need to concomitantly and officially communicate our concerns, at the highest level, to the heads of the foreign governments who are opposing the CPEC. This should be done jointly and severally by Pakistan and China, in consultation with the other countries that are part of the BRI. Our response should include manifold collective remedies and counteractions, to compel the rivals of the CPEC to desist from hurting our economic interests. The BRI has recently been written into China's constitution. Being a vital interest, the Pakistani government must also provide constitutional protection to the CPEC. Negative propaganda against the CPEC must be dispelled through Sino-Pak state and private media, ensuring transparency of planning, as well as execution and arranging seminars and workshops. Pakistan could also declare and inform the UN and the P5 nations that any terrorist activity in Balochistan or the Mekran Coast will be taken as acts of aggression by India that could be responded by Pakistan, at a time and place of its own choosing. This should be done in close coordination with China. As Afghanistan's stability cannot be predicted and its policies are unlikely to change in the near future,

any CPEC plans that are dependent for access to Central Asia, via Afghanistan may be held in abeyance and Afghanistan bypassed through revival of The "Quadrilateral Agreement on Traffic in Transit" (QATT) of 1995, that was

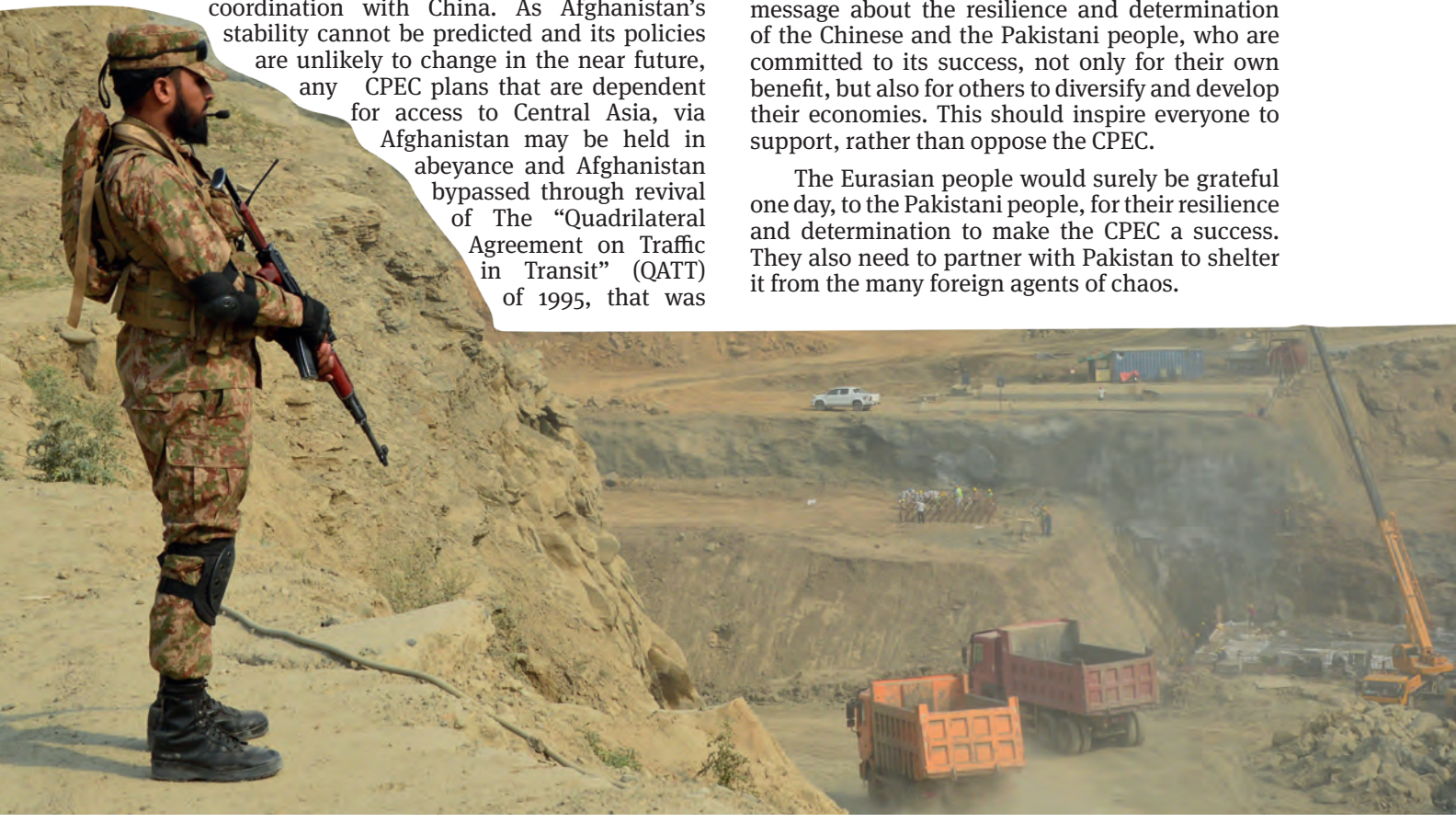
An elaborate Pak-China CPEC intelligence organization, satellite monitoring and enhanced maritime collaboration, must be an integral part of the security mechanism

signed in 2004 by the governments of China, Pakistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to facilitate direct transit trade among them. The heads of all four countries have already expressed their support for the QATT. This arrangement will also enable most other Central Asian Republics, to access Gwadar, without reliance on an insecure Afghanistan.

While the federation has raised special security forces for the protection of the CPEC, the provinces must also devise plans to secure the projects located therein. The cost of the CPEC security must be built in the cost of all projects and it should be equally shared by China and Pakistan. An elaborate Pak-China CPEC intelligence organization, satellite monitoring and enhanced maritime collaboration, must be an integral part of the security mechanism. Another multinational organization, led by China, must be formed, to respond to the threats posed to the BRI, through coordinated political, diplomatic, economic, security and surveillance measures. The SCO and BRICS forums must also be used to minimize the threats to the BRI. As SAARC has been obstructed by India, Pakistan needs to use the OIC platform to urge the Muslim countries to benefit from it.

Despite heavy odds, many CPEC projects are already up and running. This is a clear message about the resilience and determination of the Chinese and the Pakistani people, who are committed to its success, not only for their own benefit, but also for others to diversify and develop their economies. This should inspire everyone to support, rather than oppose the CPEC.

The Eurasian people would surely be grateful one day, to the Pakistani people, for their resilience and determination to make the CPEC a success. They also need to partner with Pakistan to shelter it from the many foreign agents of chaos.





Winning the Mind and Media Wars

Mind games will continue to grow and become a real affliction, unless the internet is governed or its use is restricted. Both these measures are unlikely to be put in place in the near future. Given Pakistan's limited ability and capacity to respond to an invasion of the minds of its people, as a vital component of its adversary's hybrid war, it is hard to imagine if we will ever succeed in creating an effective shield against these threats. However, the masterminds of such games can and must be exposed and opposed in every manner by all responsible and educated citizens, who must scrutinize unsolicited information and verify every anonymously received message through social media before it is shared.

The Ministries of Information and Science and technology must also gear up to respond to such dangers in coordination with PEMRA, whose present mandate and structure needs to be revised for the purpose. With help from our intelligence apparatus, these institutions must make special arrangements to spread awareness

For Pakistan, there is no better panacea to overcome the grave challenges to our freedom than unity, political amity, provincial harmony and the equitable distribution of economic opportunities and resources within the country

of the grave perils that we are facing, and conceive adequately resourced, well-structured and elaborate, information and media security policies that cater to the vicissitudes of the current milieu. Besides responding to hostile propaganda themes, this policy must aim at guarding our ideological moorings, promoting our national interests, giving hope to the people, rooting out despondency and raising our national prestige, morale and self-confidence.

The policy must promote our national narrative, eulogize our accomplishments, pay tribute to our national heroes and highlight the real and demonstrated potential of our diaspora abroad and the resolve and resilience of our patriotic population to fight terrorists. If we want to defeat hostile cyber blitzkriegs and win mind and media





An enduring peace may be possible in South Asia, if people vote into power, those leaders and political parties who consider peace as a supreme national interest, promise peaceful resolution of disputes in election manifestoes and then fulfil this assurance

wars, our policymakers must identify and accept the information domain as our most vulnerable asymmetric flank. Unless this happens, we might lose our meagre territory in the digital space and remain susceptible to dangerous disinformation campaigns aimed at altering our deep-seated beliefs, denial of our own reality, invalidation of our perceptions and trivializing our way of life.

Miscellaneous Sign Posts of Peace¹³

For Pakistan, there is no better panacea to overcome the grave challenges to our freedom than unity, political amity, provincial harmony and the equitable distribution of economic opportunities and resources within the country.

Our leaders must also be aware of all the traditional and non-traditional challenges to peace and the reasons why nations go to war, or non-state actors and individuals choose to retaliate. They must be acutely conscious of the *cost of war and the peace dividend*, before making the fateful decision to choose the former.

Front runners must believe in the ethics of war and as crises arise, they must mentally prepare the nation about the choice of the best response options.

An enduring peace may be possible in South Asia, if people vote into power, those leaders and political parties who consider peace as a supreme national interest, promise peaceful resolution of disputes in election manifestoes and then fulfil this assurance. Such efforts and their successful outcomes could be labelled as *peace through the ballot*. Considered in the light of the main causes of

friction outlined at the beginning of this rendition, this phenomenon could perhaps be regarded as the cardinal panacea of peace. Rulers and the ruled in real democracies must have conviction in this maxim. Those who think and act otherwise, shall continue to gravitate towards wars.

All religions advocate peace, harmony, balance and tranquillity. It is these virtues which need to be promulgated and narrow views opposite to this and extreme interpretations of faith must be discouraged and negated by all

Corporate businesses, the world over have built-in arbitration and mediation mechanisms, through which they settle disputes. Individual disagreements too, are often referred to third parties, or judicial courts for a final decision. On similar lines, India and Pakistan can settle all their disputes through peaceful methods of negotiations, facilitation, mediation, arbitration, persuasion and inspiration etc. Old and complicated conflicts that cannot be resolved would need to be managed to reduce or control instability. Such conflicts may need '*conflict transformation*'¹⁴ that involves modification of perceptions about contentious issues and actions of belligerents. This Department must also consider and recommend feasible, realistic and practical options on possible changes of policy to forestall wars.

An elaborate and open debate in the parliament followed by discussions in the media, on the option to go to war, along with its rationale, politico-military objectives, timeframe and the likely spending on the impending war, or to affect changes to policy to avert wars should therefore be a mandatory, constitutional requirement. The final decision to declare war must be endorsed by at least two third majority votes of the law makers.

The role of the national security councils and other forms of higher defence organizations is

Due to the rise of the RSS in India, the Indo-US nuclear deal must be scrapped to prevent a nuclear exchange in South Asia





central in all deliberations and decisions related to war and peace and therefore, these institutions must be carefully formed and their collective wisdom given due consideration. Dissenting opinions must be encouraged and given appropriate weightage. However all recommendations that are prejudiced by, or founded on revenge or ego, must be rejected.

All religions advocate peace, harmony, balance and tranquility. It is these virtues which need to be promulgated and narrow views opposite to this and extreme interpretations of faith must be discouraged and negated by all. Resources spent on the right education, particularly in the less developed countries of Asia could bring enlightenment, and induce positive changes in mind sets. Such efforts can be the harbingers of a deeply ingrained and everlasting peace, and are indeed the best forms of long term investment in a more secure and prosperous future for Asia.

Due to the rise of the RSS in India, the Indo-US nuclear deal must be scrapped to prevent a nuclear exchange in South Asia. Till this is done, it will be the biggest and most urgent moral and international security obligation of the US and all other global agencies, concerned with nuclear safety, to carefully and closely monitor all Indian civil and military nuclear facilities to prevent pilferage, proliferation or misuse of fissile material.

Finally, what the future holds for peace will depend, to a great extent on the way the media projects and handles most events, issues, beliefs and concerns that can evoke either violence and aggression or compromise and reconciliation. Due to this onus, greater reflection is warranted on media regulation and its roles.

The preceding inter-linked imperatives can usher in long term stability, besides substantially improving the overall security environment in the region. Let us hope that the precepts, notions and signposts of peace, suggested in this exposition can address the onerous need of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence in Asia.

Lieutenant General Raza Muhammad Khan, HI (M) (Retired), former Corps Commander and former President of National Defense University, Islamabad

Notes

1. <https://frontline.thehindu.com/the-nation/the-doval-doctrine/article7800194.ece>
2. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/kashmir-situation-explosive-and-complicated-trump-says-offering-to-mediate-again/articleshow/70764300.cms>
3. <https://www.state.gov/four-party-joint-statement-on-afghan-peace-process/>
4. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/338079/us-congressman-tables-resolution-calling-for-independence-of-baloch/> <https://www.dawn.com/news/789100>
5. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/on-obor-us-backs-india-says-it-crosses-disputed-territory-1057313-2017-10-04>
6. <http://www.indiandefensenews.in/2017/11/pak-scan-india-keen-for-limited.html>
7. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2019/03/23/chinas-tajikistan-military-base-eclipses-indias-central-asian-ambitions/>
8. <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/d1qC7ME0sFY3froWPmNkNK/Narendra-Modi-Ashraf-Ghani-for-closure-of-crossborder-saf.html>
9. <https://usiofindia.org/publication/usi-journal/the-art-of-perception-management-in-information-warfare-today-2/>
10. <https://www.hsd.org/?abstract&did=759867>
11. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/516479-the-kashmir-policy>
12. Ibid.
13. Some portions of this part, authored by the same writer have appeared in a book titled, Peace and War, their Precepts and Principles, Part 1, p. 126-128, Ferozsons Lahore, 2013.
14. See Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures, by Lederach, John Paul (Syracuse University Press, 1995).



A High Powered Chinese Military Delegation lead by General Xu Qiliang, Vice Chairman Chinese Military Commission visited Pakistan - Post August 5th Unilateral Annexation of IOJK by PM Modi



DHA CITY KARACHI

Live into the future now



DHA City Karachi - the futuristic city is ready for living. Located at the ideal location of M9 Motorway, equipped with state-of-the-art modern day facilities, it is an urban marvel.

With 100% land ownership and backing from the most reputed organization, DHA City Karachi is an ideal place to be.

We welcome you to come and live the wonder here!



FEATURES

- All Amenities Available (Electricity, Water etc.)
- FWO Towers – Pakistan's Tallest Building
- DCK Interchange on M9 (Biggest Interchange of Pakistan) to be completed Dec. 2019
- Malir Expressway
- Askari Housing Scheme
- Shaukat Khanum Memorial Hospital
- Gated Community
- Dow Hospital
- IBA Campus
- Dow University of Health Sciences
- Suffa University
- Junior School-DCK
- DHA Oasis (Farmhouses)

National Security & Emerging Geopolitical Scenario:

Post Article 370 Obliteration



Farzana Shah

Abstract

Obliteration of Article 370 of Indian constitution by BJP Hindutva government will go down in history as a watershed event. This paper argues that this action by Indian government was a step towards a much greater Indian design that is going to challenge Pakistan's national security and regional peace. There are multiple factors behind this Indian overture in IOJK. These factors include CPEC, relevance of Pakistan's geography to almost every major development in the region like Afghan peace process, rise of China, US interests in Ladakh region, Persian Gulf and potential conflict-like situation in Middle East. Pakistan and India have direct clash of strategic interests in these areas and a geopolitical milieu is emerging in the region where Pakistan's national security is being challenged. Indian actions on August 5th have complicated Pakistan's security threat matrix even further. The paper argues that Pakistan will have to find a politically defensible position while ensuring that Indian designs of altering the demography in IOJK remains in check. Pakistan cannot risk ignoring developments in IOJK after multiple threats have been made by Indian government to extend its jurisdiction over AJK and Northern Areas. Pakistan will have to embrace non-kinetic warfare strategies backed by offensive diplomacy under a cohesive Kashmir strategy.

Keywords: Kashmir, Peace and Stability, Article 370, National Security, CPEC, Emerging Alignments, Escalating Strategic Contestation



On August 5th, 2019 India unilaterally revoked Article 370 of its constitution which promised autonomy to the state of Jammu and Kashmir i.e. Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IOJK). This unlawful decision with its dire pending consequences has triggered an outrage, not only in the region but also at the global level. The entire state has been put under siege with total communication blackout, enforced by deploying thousands of fresh troops. Over 3000 political figures including former chief ministers of the state were arrested under so-called Public Safety Act (PSA).

India also divided the state into two; an act through which she changed the geography of the disputed land, hence practically ending the 1971



Joint US - India Military Exercise

Simla Agreement. This agreement has remained a critical milestone for both Pakistan and India, as it was this agreement based upon which both countries established what the World later on recognized as Line of Control (LoC). Not only that, August 5th action also undermined the very foundation of Indian constitution, as Article 370 was obliterated without the essentially required consent of state government and that's why this action was not a constitutional reform, but a blatant coup in total disregard to the pending UNSC resolutions /UN Charter.

Modi government with full backing from hardliner Hindu groups, abolished IOJK's autonomous status under a fabricated security threat perception to conceal the real intent. Pak-US peace overtures in Afghanistan had made Delhi very nervous because of the simple fact that any settlement between the US and Taliban would have enabled Pakistan to move almost 200,000 of its troops or at least a large number of these to its eastern borders in Kashmir and elsewhere. Indian desperation to counter Pakistan and limit her growing role in Afghan peace process led to such an abrupt abrogation of special status of IOJK and this timing was no coincidence.

Indian desperation to counter Pakistan and limit her growing role in Afghan peace process led to such an abrupt abrogation of special status of IOJK; timing was no coincident

Media reports suggest the Indian intelligence agencies were desperately waiting for this opportunity to strike. Delhi had sensed that a possible deal managed by Pakistan for US troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan could eventually renew US military assistance for Pakistan.

Reportedly, to scuttle Afghan peace deal and legitimize Indian stance over Kashmir, Indian spy agency RAW's new chief Samant Goel called on Narendra Modi on July 5th, 2019 and apprised him of the plan to abolish the Article 370 for IOJK.¹ Preparations for the move were already in place in Delhi as a number of high profile military and intelligence visits were made to IOJK including those by RAW's chief Goel, Indian NSA Ajit Doval and Indian Army Chief General Bipin Rawat in the months preceding August 2019. On July 24, Doval also held a meeting with Indian military chiefs and heads of all three intelligence agencies including National Technical Research Organization (NTRO)², in the same context.

Media also reported that India had flown Israeli Heron drones across the Pir Panjal range to rehearse controlling mob in case of protest eruption³; military aircrafts made a number of sorties flying relief supplies including food, water and medicines into the Valley for the Indian troops.

After Indian decision of obliteration of Article 370, LoC has become potential conflict with Pakistan under the nuclear overhang because of the simple fact that Delhi has changed the goalpost for future talks on Kashmir. According to Indian leadership, now talks will be on Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

Post August 5th environment suggests that India with obliteration of Article 370 actually risked a high intensity insurgency in an already volatile state of IOJK; something India could not have done alone without external backing.

India with obliteration of Article 370 actually risked a high intensity insurgency in an already volatile IOJK; something India could not have done alone without external backing



India /BJP's Envisioned Final Solution of Kashmir

In 1925, an upper-caste Brahmin, Keshav Hedgewar, founded what would become India's preeminent Hindu nationalist association: the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). After 1947, it was RSS who first called for complete integration of IOJK into India without any special powers. That position has been a founding agenda of RSS' political wings ever since the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (the BJP's predecessor) was established in 1951. The Government of India's openness to the idea of Hindutva has been apparent since 1958, but any move in that direction had to be planned very carefully in the light of current geostrategic environment.

The BJP was formed in 1980, drawing together a range of Hindu activist projects, from Gandhian to more explicitly Hindu nationalist. BJP itself remains a political project of right-wing Hindutva ideologues to get to the power corridors in Delhi. Now they have cemented their positioning.

BJP a political face of saffron Hindutva brigade, has been eyeing for a change in the demography of IOJK by settling non-Kashmiri Hindus, on the lines of Israeli Jewish settlements in Palestine. This remains the final solution of Kashmir problem for BJP government in Delhi. Apart from that, the abrogation of Article 370 is part of BJP's strategy of paving the ground for a larger design against

BJP, a political face of saffron Hindutva brigade, has been eyeing for a change in demography of IOJK by settling non-Kashmiri Hindus, on the lines of Israeli Jewish settlements in Palestine

Pakistan's national security by attacking Azad Kashmir in near future to secure a chunk, no matter how small it is. Statement of "intent" has been made by no less than three important state ministers of India.

India intends to snatch 72,000 square km of Gilgit with at least over 13,000 square km of Azad Kashmir to have access to Central Asian Republics, while cutting off CPEC route

India intends to snatch 72,000 square km of Gilgit with at least over 13,000 square km of Azad Kashmir to have access to Central Asian Republics, while cutting off CPEC route. Home Minister Rajnath Singh said that talks between India and Pakistan can only be held on Pakistani administered Kashmir in future and not on IOJK. The same was echoed by BJP MP Subramanian Swamy, saying "The PoK should be united with us".⁴ The most recent tirade in this regard came from Indian External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar, who said that India will physically lay hands on PoK, referring to Azad Kashmir.⁵

After Home Minister of India, such a bold statement by Foreign Minister of India is a brazen threat of direct attack on Azad Kashmir in near future. Earlier, Indian Union Minister Jitendar Singh made Indian intentions clear by stating, "After Article 370, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir Our Next Agenda."⁶ Citing abrogation of the article a step for fully integrating not only Jammu and Kashmir with India, but attacking Pakistani Kashmir as well.

All these statements, overtures and demeanours from Indian political elite have endangered the peace of entire region with possible effects on the entire world, about which



Foreign Minister addressing UN Human Rights Council

Pakistan's political leadership has been warning the world since the day Delhi decided to adopt the imperialistic approach to rule her own subjects, based on some grand strategic design driven by abhorrently violent ideology; Hindutva. Hence, this threat perception carries credence and must not be ignored by Pakistan.

It is in this background, this issue is going to affect Pakistan's national security, which demands a fresh evaluation of security and threat matrix.

Delhi decided to adopt the imperialistic approach to rule her own subjects, based on some grand strategic design driven by abhorrently violent ideology; Hindutva

Pakistan's Current Security Profile

Pakistan's national security paradigm has two most critical facets; our borders (eastern and western) and ailing economy (Table Opposite). Threats and opportunities on both these borders are inter-linked and inter-connected and Pakistan's economic situation leaves very little room for the state to mitigate enemy's strategic onslaught. Due to Pakistan's weak economy, the differential with India in conventional balance of power has grown manifolds.

Pakistan's Current National Security Predicaments

Developments in IOJK are neither random nor isolated as far as their impact on Pakistan's national security is concerned. It is a dilemma

imposed by our geography that Pakistan cannot stay isolated from regional developments. Even in some cases, extra regional developments also impact Pakistan's security milieu; fast evolving situation in Middle East and ongoing trade war between US and China, are cases in point.

United Nations on April 21, 1948 adopted Kashmir resolution after India took the issue to the UN under article 35 of Chapter VI. Kashmir was declared disputed territory and call for a plebiscite was made as the said chapter outlines the means for a peaceful settlement of disputes. The shadowy annexation of IOJK by India and insistence upon its fabricated history has resulted in 3 out of 4 Indo-Pak wars. With current clampdown on basic human rights in IOJK, there is a clear and present danger of yet another round of conflict. LoC is already red hot; both countries are already exchanging artillery fire. Earlier, in February 2019, both sides deployed air power. India lost 2 fighter jets on 27/2 with one pilot becoming POW; who was immediately returned by Pakistan as a goodwill gesture.

India is desperate to get a role in the region, belittling what Pakistan has been doing for regional stability. This is critical for India to present Pakistan as a perpetrator of global terror, while fact is Pakistan has been the biggest victim of non-state actors' actions within and without. Two most important strategic goals of India are:

- Bigger role, both in the region and world.
- Solving Kashmir through UNSC resolutions, but after changing its demography to ensure a win. Solving Kashmir will pave the way for permanent UNSC seat; vital prerequisite for India to embark on Akhand Bahart agenda of RSS.



Pakistan's Security Threat Matrix – 2019				
	Enemy	Threat Perceived	Nature of Conflict / Threat	Impact on National Security
INTERNAL	Non State Violent Actors (Sleeper cells of TTP and other militant groups)	Insurgency, LICs, Suicide Bombing, Subversion, Attacks on defense installations and fencing teams, kidnapping	Sub-Conventional	Indirect
	Sub-Nationalists / Separatists (BLA/ BRA)	Political and ideological sedition, ability to sabotage the rail and road infrastructure at critical points in Balochistan	Sub-Conventional	Direct/ Indirect
	Sectarian Groups	Violent fragmentation of civil society on sectarian lines	Terrorism, Serious Law and Order issue	Indirect
	Political Militant Wings associated with political parties	Disturbance in law and order situation in Karachi	Urban Terrorism	Indirect
	Economic slowdown	Worrisome for economic security and state viability	Economic	Direct
EXTERNAL	Western Border / Afghanistan	Failure of Afghan peace process is serious security problem for both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan cannot mobilize force from WB to border with India	Conventional, Sub-Conventional	Direct
	Economic Strangulation (FATF, IMF)	Hostile states with strong political clout have been putting Pakistan under pressure through bodies like FATF making local environment non-conducive for international investments	Economic, Non-kinetic	Direct
	Hostile State Actors (Intel organizations and media outlets)	Massive Psy-ops against Pakistan army to destroy the credibility as a professional defense force	Psychological, Non-kinetic Info warfare	Direct
	India	Potential Execution of Cold Start, Coercive diplomacy, media ops, supporting NSVAs against Pakistan Army, Manipulation of IWT 1960	Strategic, Conventional, Sub-Conventional, Non-Kinetic, Economic	Direct, Indirect

Indian threat has been intensified even more after August 5, 2019. Kashmir has dominated the security debate as it's going to impact both internal and external security dynamics. How things will unfold in coming weeks and months, depends on how Pakistan formulates and executes its strategy on Kashmir.

Apart from the traditional foe in the east, the country has been fighting an endless war on the west, which despite clear gains, remains a perpetually bleeding front albeit with reduced fatalities.

Notwithstanding these obvious kinetic threats, Pakistan's security landscape is inevitably affected by certain other factors as well, like peaceful rise of China and her ensuing trade war with the US, culmination of US' longest war in history in Afghanistan and growing strategic competition around various parts of Asia including

It is a dilemma imposed by our geography that Pakistan cannot stay isolated from regional developments



Israeli lobby in Washington and right wing elements of Indian diaspora in US have turned India into largest market of advanced US arms like P8-I Neptune MAS, Apache gunship, M-777 howitzer artillery guns, C-17 strategic airlift planes

South China Sea, Indian Ocean, North Korea, and stand-off between US allies in Strait of Hormuz against Iran. All these geopolitical developments will directly or indirectly impact Pakistan. Hence, it is likely to continue to be in the eye of global security storm due to its geography and may continue to suffer if not steered wisely.

EMERGING ALIGNMENTS AND ESCALATING STRATEGIC CONTESTATION

US – India; Convergence of Strategic Interests

Post 9/11, once a Soviet ally, India started to explore new alliances in an effort to bolster its economic as well as military power. With paradigm shift in strategic interests, US-India once maritime competitors in IOR in 80s, are now jointly striding to choke Chinese maritime trading and military communication lines.

Indian quest for roping in US yielded in 2008 when US congress gave final approval to Indo-US nuclear deal. The deal negotiated from 2005 to 2008 led to lifting of three-decade old US sanctions on nuclear trade with India, imposed due to non-proliferation issues. Considering the three countries outside Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Israel, India and Pakistan – this stands to be a unique deal.⁷

Asia-Pacific Policy of Obama's regime let India position herself as a key US ally in IOR as a counterweight to Chinese strategy of extending Sea Lines Of Communication (SLOCs). Taking advantage of US desperation, strong anti-China signaling was done to ensure "freedom of navigation and over flight throughout the region, especially in the South China Sea".⁸

Israeli lobby in Washington and right wing elements of Indian diaspora in the US have turned India into largest market of advanced US arms like P8-I Neptune MAS, Apache gunship, M-777 howitzer artillery guns, C-17 strategic airlift planes. Apart from these, F-16 Block 70 and F-18 E/F are being offered to India. Washington felt compelled to transfer advanced weapons to Indian arsenal, creating a serious imbalance of power in South Asia.

In recent times, taking full advantage of the prevalent geostrategic milieu, India reshaped its Kashmir policy around single point agenda of

terrorism. As the US was fighting war, 12000 km away from home against the same terrorists it once nurtured against Soviets.

Beijing has plans to expand BRI to 70 countries and CPEC remains a critical part of this Chinese enterprise. Road to China's strive for challenging American dominance passes through CPEC

Pakistan's Significance to China

Chinese trillion-dollar Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) is pivotal for turning China into a world commercial empire. The region of Azad Jammu and Kashmir gains unprecedented importance in the wake of US-China emerging geopolitical competition worldwide. US wants to hit CPEC just like India for almost similar reasons; CPEC has in fact comprehensively demolished the US envisaged strategic encirclement of China in South China Sea, notwithstanding US quadrilateral alliance with Japan, Australia, and India. Idea was that CPEC brings global connectivity to China, so that Beijing can invest hundreds of billions of US dollars in its reserves to reignite the growth engine, which has slowed down during last 5-7 years (from 10% annual to 6.5%). Beijing has plans to expand BRI to 70 countries and CPEC remains a critical part of this Chinese enterprise. Road to China's strive for challenging American dominance passes through CPEC.

Apart from this economic dimension, the north eastern region of IOJK is attractive due to its close proximity to Russia, China and Pakistan. The Indian action in IOJK gives the US deep state an opportunity for furthering its own scheme of geopolitical maneuvering in Afghanistan, which is instrumental in containing Russia-China-Pakistan at the same time.

While US has remained stranded in Afghan quagmire, China's BRI has been helping Beijing in positioning China to rise peacefully as a peace

CPEC has in fact comprehensively demolished the US envisaged strategic encirclement of China in South China Sea



broker to the conflict zones like Afghanistan and Iraq in near future through trade compulsions. These very aspects substantiate the growing geostrategic prominence of Pakistan /Kashmir.⁹

The changing geopolitics has forced Pakistan to adopt a more robust offensive maritime policy, apart from safeguarding its interests attached to land component of CPEC. Pakistan Navy has embarked on an ambitious project of acquiring eight submarines along with multiple advanced naval ships. All these may help restore some balance of power in South Asia /IOR.

Both nations embark on multiple bilateral military exercises; something no one could dream about 30 years ago. Evidently, Moscow is putting aside Cold War strategic thought process and has enhanced ties with Pakistan

Russia – Pakistan Warmth

Russian role post 9/11, has also been of significance as it contributed in shaping the regional geopolitics. After the emergence of US-India strategic partnership, Russia initially through China, helped Pakistan in maintaining a healthy balance of power in the region through transfer of military technologies which other sources were not willing to provide. Initially, vital signs of bilateral ties were shaky but after President Musharraf's visit of 2005 to Moscow, these relations got traction. Being a major trade and military hardware customer, India was confident that Islamabad will not be able to complete strategic programs like JF-17 Thunder which needed Russian power plant as China was at least decade away from producing one. To Delhi's shock, Russia allowed to re-export these power plants to Pakistan. Later on, Russia also exported various systems to Pakistan armed forces. Cooperation got further strengthened as both nations embark on multiple bilateral military exercises; something no one could dream about 30

Russia is interested to partner with Pakistan and China in CPEC because Kashgher-Khunjrab-Gwadar corridor remains the shortest route to IOR

years ago. Evidently, Moscow is putting aside Cold War strategic thought process and has enhanced ties with Pakistan.

In Afghanistan too, Russian policy saw a strategic shift. Once a bone of contention between the two, Afghanistan is becoming one of the vital factors drawing Pak-Russia closer. From backing Northern Alliance in Afghanistan to initiating contacts with Afghan Taliban, the Russian rapprochement has witnessed an unprecedented turn. It is evident that Russians are as much uncomfortable with the US breathing on their neck as they were with Taliban's presence in northern Afghanistan adjacent to CAR.

On economic front too, Pakistan and Russian have grown closer to each other. Post 9/11 Russian policy has been more open towards Pakistan helping both countries to establish strategic linkages to better communicate and understand regional issues. Russia is interested to partner with Pakistan and China in CPEC because Kashgher-Khunjrab-Gwadar corridor remains the shortest route for Russia to IOR. It is in this background that Gwadar is considered a game changer.¹⁰

China – India – Pakistan Paradigm

Recent, Sino-India skirmishes in Doklam went full circle in locking both the nuclear powers into a possible warlike situation. India has recently expressed her envisioned two front war strategy, which basically relies on the premise of preventing Chinese ingress across the LAC amid a high intensity short lived Indo-Pak conflict adopting Cold Start Doctrine (CSD). After initial denial, the top Indian military brass has not only publically



Joint Russia-Pakistan Military Exercise (Friendship 2019)



On international fora, India always presented Kashmir as a bilateral issue, supposed to be solved under Simla Agreement at bilateral level without any third party intervention. While on the bilateral level, Indian policy on Kashmir is immovable as it always maintains that Kashmir is an integral part of Union, hence no bilateral dialogue is possible

acknowledged its presence, but has also hinted at considering unleashing CSD against Pakistan.

Indian aggressive attempts to outmaneuver Pakistan's nuclear threshold forced it to adopt a full spectrum deterrence posture, while retaining /displaying the resolve to adopt policy of first use. Though it carries a great promise of strategic stability, but still there is a sizeable Indian defense intelligentsia that conceives this as a weakness in conventional balance of power, hence sees an opportunity of a limited, high-intensity conflict aimed at shallow gains across LoC / IB. This community of India is of the view that such gains will serve a devastating blow to Pakistan's national morale. Indian strategy is to choke Pakistan economically, while raising cost of its deterrence by triggering an arms race.

Adding current volatile situation in IOJK into above discussed strategic contest between conventional Indo-Pak militaries and growing US-China wrestling for dominance, it would be safe to assume that the probability of an armed conflict in this region was never this high in last 72 years, as it is now.

Pakistan is seen as a sincere peace broker and not the epicenter of global terror

Critical Appraisal of Pakistan's Response Strategy

Let us begin with the most critical question i.e. if all these preparations as highlighted in earlier part of this discourse were underway in India, why Pakistan remained oblivious to these developments about IOJK or was it caught totally unaware /surprised like rest of the World? A critical and candid appraisal is needed.

It would be safe to assume that Pakistan missed the opportunity to preempt and did very little or nothing before August 5th on diplomatic and media fronts to expose and pressurize India. Whatever and wherever it reacted, it did once

unilateral annexation of IOJK by Modi had already occurred.

In the wake of Indian move over IOJK, Pakistan repeatedly reiterated its intention to undertake preventive measures to counter threats hurled by India. Such a move had always been seen by the US and her allies as jeopardizing War on Terror, a metrics which puts Pakistan at a crucial position with regard to peace in the region. The equation exhibits importance of Kashmir conflict and consequences of Indian attempt of redrawing map of erstwhile Jammu & Kashmir for the world peace and stability.

On international fora, India always presented Kashmir as a bilateral issue, supposed to be solved under Simla Agreement at bilateral level without any third party intervention. While on the bilateral level, Indian policy on Kashmir is immovable as it always maintains that Kashmir is an integral part of Union, hence no bilateral dialogue is possible. On the contrary, India showed willingness to discuss Azad Jammu Kashmir and Northern Areas (parts of heretofore Kashmir state) of Pakistan for which nation gave blood in 1947-48 to liberate from the clutches of Dogra Raj; putting added pressure on our diplomacy.



Pakistan's political leadership has repeatedly and quite forcefully warned the World at large about the potential threat to global peace emerging from regional conflict in Kashmir in near future; it's a nuclear flashpoint that has the latent potential to engulf the entire world

The clash of interests among big powers alone makes Kashmir a bone of contention; contested directly by three nuclear powers (intrinsically linked are the strategic interests of two extra regional nuclear powers i.e. US, Russia)

Despite fighting an unending war against terrorism and tremendous sacrifices in men and material (figure stagger around \$200 Bn), Pakistan was named as epicenter of terror due to failure to build a narrative backed by cohesive efforts to use soft power. The reason why India was so upset with Pakistan's peace overtures in Afghanistan, was because it would send a powerful signal to the world, where Pakistan is seen as a sincere peace broker and not the epicenter of global terror.

These botches were not doing of one institution or the rulers, instead they were cumulative failure of the state spread over decades in being a dynamic functioning body and governance unit. Irrelevant are such questions, fact remains that these failures have shaped our current security profile, which presents a rather bleak picture on almost every axis of national power.

Despite the fact that since 9/11 Pakistan's security challenges have grown manifold, it has made abundantly clear that Pakistan cannot and will not remain oblivious from what goes on inside the Kashmir valley; any undertakings however, demand a comprehensive understanding of the total security paradigm. Pakistan will have to work proactively and diplomatically support the indigenous KFM, else the state will be dragged into yet another regional conflict with India, giving her the advantage to choose time and place of her liking.

Notwithstanding initial surprise, post August 5th Pakistan's political leadership has repeatedly and quite forcefully warned the World at large about the potential threat to global peace emerging from regional conflict in Kashmir in near future; it's a nuclear flashpoint that has the latent potential to engulf the entire world.

World especially the Western governments have largely responded in a lukewarm and timid manner, despite strong resentment /protests from human rights activists /diverse communities across the globe

Global Response

The World especially the Western governments have largely responded in a lukewarm and timid manner, despite strong resentment /protests from human rights activists /diverse communities across the globe. The response of the Arab world was astonishingly quite disappointing and to put it politely, self-centered; terming IOJK as an internal issue of India was rather disgusting to say the least. If the response to human atrocities committed against any community or religion is to be dictated by the size of markets, then it's better to bury the UN human rights charter and the notion of Muslim Ummah, when viewed in the context of sufferings of Muslims in Palestine and IOJK.

If the response to human atrocities committed against any community or religion is to be dictated by the size of markets, then it's better to bury UN human rights charter and the notion of Muslim Ummah

PM Imran Khan, while criticizing the reaction of western world has rightly said that the response would have been much different, had it been mere eight Americans instead of eight million Muslims of IOJK, who have been virtually imprisoned and denied basic human rights by Modi for such an extended period. Nonetheless, there are some isolated sane voices which have shown concerns over security situation in IOJK. US congressman, Rep. Eric Swalwell in his statement said, "The strife in Kashmir isn't just about India and Pakistan – it is an issue that has worldwide military, economic, and moral consequences".¹¹ Among Muslim leaders, President Erdogan of Turkey lauded his concerns quite forcefully. Nevertheless, the cumulative response fell much short of desirable.



Prime Minister Imran Khan addressing UNGA
(27 September, 2019)



President Erdogan addressing UNGA
(27 September, 2019)

Geo-Strategic Implications

Strategically speaking, the clash of interests among big powers alone makes Kashmir a bone of contention; contested directly by three nuclear powers (intrinsically linked are the strategic interests of two extra regional nuclear powers i.e. US, Russia).

Gilgit-Baltistan region has for centuries been the most vital part of Jammu and Kashmir. It is now a key part of CPEC, the cornerstone of China-Pakistan axis and the flagship project of China's BRI for global trade domination; it aims at connecting South Asia with Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East /Africa; the shortest route from Arabian Sea ports of Karachi and Gwadar.

The growing competition in different fields (fanning economies and military insecurities) is forcing China and India to gain access to energy rich CARs. International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) was envisioned by India as alternative to CPEC. This corridor connects CAR to Iran and to India through Arabian Sea. Obviously, the route is not only much costlier due to its length, but also tremendously insecure as it goes through Iran and Persian Gulf, regions far from stable for long term investments and economic activities. The only alternative short and direct route for India passes through Azad Kashmir and Pakistan's northern areas. Sooner or later, India will make a move to extend its jurisdiction over this area; current overture in IOJK may have this latent desire imbedded in it.

Apart from economic and strategic dimensions, Kashmir issue has become a cultural and social question as well.

Modi is planning to change the religious demography of IOJK, through ethnic cleansing and hindu settlements in disputed territory on the lines of Jewish settlements by Israel. This drive itself is being fueled by right-wing Hindutva gangs, who have taken over India and have completely distorted her secular face. Hindutva ideology, much like Hitler's Nazism, believes in supremacy of their own faith and considers all minorities in India as impure and hence, must be culled from Indian soil.

Hindutva's control over Indian society has put Indian minorities in grave danger. Lynching of Muslims and Kashmiri students even within Indian cities has become new normal

Modi appealed to the Indian society to "embrace Kashmiris" on Independence Day. It was sensible from both the domestic and international perspectives. But the news coming out of IOJK and even from mainland India, indicates that Hindutva's control over Indian society has put Indian minorities in grave danger. Lynching of Muslims and Kashmiri students even within Indian cities has become new normal. This explains why Modi was compelled to ensure a complete media clampdown in the IOJK. Apart from that, Modi is now faced with severe internal pressure to act against Pakistan on AJK.

Apropos, it is beyond any doubt that the current fascist regime in India has nefarious designs against Pakistan /Muslims. Ruling RSS/VHP/BJP has built anti-Muslim /anti-Pakistan sentiment so hard in Indian mainstream media and public discourse that BJP will have to continue undertaking some sort of anti-Pak overtures every now and then, to stay in power; hence current misadventure should not be taken as last.

Possible Emerging Scenarios and their Impact on Pakistan's National Security

It is evident from the analysis so far that an Indo – US – Israel nexus is at play against Pakistan at multiple levels to close the Kashmir chapter once and for all. Hence, it is now prudent to examine the possible outcomes of Indian political discourse vis-à-vis Pakistan (Table Opposite).

Hindutva ideology, much like Hitler's Nazism, believes in supremacy of their own faith and considers all minorities in India as impure and hence must be culled from Indian soil



Scenario	Pakistan's Response	Ramifications
One	Pakistan in a hope to evade clash with India accepts post August 5 th Kashmir as new normal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Israel driven Palestine Model applied on Kashmiris and struggle totally subdued. Genocide, extraditions, mass RSS /Hindu settlements will totally change the demography and Pakistan's claim will be defeated. ■ Disappointed /discouraged and weakened Kashmiris may turn hostile towards Pakistan and accept solution within Indian folds. ■ India satisfied with strategic partners and ready to serve their interests in the region (especially against Pakistan & China). ■ US /Israel may be offered military bases in IOJK. ■ Emboldened India will ask Pakistan to handover Azad Kashmir. Open attack is a possibility and World may accept this as well. ■ Next step towards AKHAND BHARAT, to absorb Pakistan is taken at an opportune time in future.
Two	Pakistan seeks a solution based on division of Kashmir into 3 parts. Pakistan sheds away AJK, India sheds away Valley. Northern Areas go to Pakistan, while Laddakh goes to India. Or a similar agreement based on Chenab Formula.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Though this plan sounds the most feasible, but in reality it will be least probable due to extreme internal pressures both in India and Pakistan; more so in India. ■ If anything like this materializes, it will not help securing Pakistan's strategic interests. ■ Some factions of Kashmiris will be happy. ■ Most of the global stakeholders in the region will term it as responsible intervention of the world power(s). ■ India will compromise on Valley only, while Pakistan will have to compromise on entire AJK. ■ US would intervene as moderator with pledge of providing security to newly established free Kashmiri state and for that it may seek to establish military bases at Srinagar and Muzafarabad. ■ China will never like this solution. Such an agreement by Islamabad may affect adversely on bilateral ties with Beijing. ■ India will witness an internal uprising against such a scheme by right wing politicians and intelligentsia leading to another conflict with free Kashmir or with Pakistan. ■ Having settled the core issue of Kashmir with India, Pakistan will now be convinced / motivated / coerced to de-nuclearize as a responsible nation state. ■ Pakistan armed forces will lose their credibility as a force to deter, that has promised to fight for Kashmiris till last bullet and last soldier. Morale within the rank and file will be shattered. ■ Propaganda against Pak Army being a corporate entity rather than a defense force will intensify and will get more traction among locals. ■ Due to massive internal pressure on both sides, threat of a war like situation will still prevail.



Scenario	Pakistan's Response	Ramifications
Three	Pakistan takes bold and principled decision and responds to SOS call of Kashmiris, and supports native freedom struggle through aggressive diplomacy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ This is most practical and dignified option for Pakistan. It will yield internal cohesion as well. ■ Pakistan Army will get invaluable vote of confidence, not only from local masses but from across the world by those who are being oppressed. ■ Pakistan will get its true leadership role. ■ Pakistan's water security will be ensured like never before. ■ Pakistan will have to pay some price with a possibility of a war like situation on international border with India. Even then, entire nation will back armed forces.
Four	Pakistan delays its response and India consolidates and succeeds in changing the demography of the Valley.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Devastating effect for Kashmiris, Pakistanis and armed forces. ■ IOJK will be lost forever and for real. ■ Pakistan may have to face massive influx of refugees fleeing from IOJK to save their lives similar to Syrian and Palestinian refugees. ■ Potential threat for a high intensity war with India still be prevailing as Delhi will take Pakistan's indecision as a sign of weakness.

A critical appraisal of the above scenarios suggests that Pakistan will have to walk a very thin line to fight for the Kashmir cause. Biggest challenge is that Pakistan will have to take the initiative and yet not to be seen as an aggressor as per international law. Having tested Pakistan's response in February 2019, India may not escalate the situation along LoC any further than routine ceasefire violations, without consolidating control over IOJK. India's best bet in current scenario is to maintain status-quo with a complete information and media control on developments inside IOJK particularly in the valley. This is where Pakistan will have to respond along with aggressive, non-apologetic and bold diplomacy. Proactive Foreign Office (FO) will produce results. If Pakistan keeps waiting for Indian action to react; Islamabad will be playing a losing game from the very onset.

Policy Recommendations

So far, Pakistan has given a standard response to Indian action of August 5th. Prevailing security crisis however, demands a robust and out of box solution, and that too in quick time. International community at best, will not go beyond condemning India over human rights violations in IOJK. In order to do that Pakistan will have to take the war into non-kinetic domains:

- Information / Cyber Warfare
- Electronic Warfare (EW) Spectrum

Relevant establishments must provide support to diplomatic efforts being done by government through operations in these two domains with

focused goal of extracting authentic information from stakeholders in IOJK most importantly from general public facing the brutalities of Indian oppressive forces. Once information gathered, FO must disseminate it with proper narrative of the state of Pakistan.

A single video clip or picture can change the perception of India, which it has built so painstakingly over the years. Pakistan needs to keep world attention on IOJK and in order to do that communication links inside the valley must be established. Indian decision of communication blackout in IOJK was not random, but part of the planning. Pakistan's response in these two domains will be purely non-kinetic, denying any involvement of arms. If executed properly and a local uprising occurs inside IOJK, it will make it extremely difficult for India to keep selling the terrorism card on IOJK. Burhan Wani was a local hero, India could not blame his action on Pakistan. Only a native uprising will be just and politically defensible for Pakistan on international forums. Even such an uprising will need support in the information domain.

EW Spectrum would be critical as it will enable Pakistan to keep Indian preparation in check. There is a possibility that India creates a deception in IOJK and opens war across IB on a spot like Pakistan's soft-belly (Rahim Yar Khan - Kashmir) to sever Karachi from rest of Pakistan. There are rumors suggesting similar planning going on in Indian military headquarters; Pakistan must take requisite safeguards.



Due to RSS/BJP actions in IOJK, future of 8 million Kashmiri Muslims is at stake with a probability of their systematic genocide or forced exodus from their native land

Pakistan must also keep refining standard diplomatic response along with taking into consideration above mentioned suggestions. Few areas where improvement can be made are mentioned below:

- Pakistan, according to UN charter, can openly help Kashmiris in their fight. Indian intervention in East Pakistan and recent Syrian conflict between Russia and the US are clear examples.
- India may try to capture areas 5 to 7 km inside AJK to make claim on the area. Pakistan army must have own similar plans and be executed preemptively.
- Question of Kashmir must be debated among legislators on regular basis so that policy can be kept proactive rather than calling session of parliament on special occasions. Kashmir's importance as vital strategic national interest must be seen by whole nation. Kashmir demands and deserves more pragmatism than emotional outburst.
- Pakistan's foreign policy needs more consistency, more inclusiveness of security institutions and constant review of emerging developments around the world particularly in South Asia.
- Kinetic intervention from Pakistan has proven counter-productive as far as larger goals of Kashmir's freedom is concerned. It created problems locally as well. State must adopt transparent policy in this regard. Proscribed organizations must remain ineffective and immobile.
- Pakistan must establish a dedicated and permanent desk at FO focused on human rights violation in India against minorities. These efforts must be driven not by shallow patriotism, but true humanitarian grounds. In this regard, contacts must be established with oppressed groups within Indian society. This desk must be tasked to constantly arranging seminars and programs for this single purpose. Kashmir Committee must work along with this desk.
- Especial efforts must be put on proactive diplomacy on Kashmir in P-5 nations. Pakistan embassies must conduct seminars,

conferences and round tables with local intellectuals about Indian oppression in the valley.

Conclusion

Indian government has gravely endangered the global peace by unilaterally changing the status of disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. Due to RSS/BJP actions in IOJK, future of 8 million Kashmiri Muslims is at stake with a probability of their systematic genocide or forced exodus from their native land. The subsequent strategic situation demanded an appraisal to assess the way forward for the state. This paper is an attempt in the same direction. It argued and examined various vertices of Kashmir's geography, its linkage with national security and impacts of various policy options. Pakistan will have to act proactively. Standard diplomatic response will not be enough and a delay in decisive line of action will be suicidal.

Pakistan must ensure regional peace by adopting an aggressive and just policy on Kashmir, while also ensuring that state must not be seen as aggressor till the time an armed conflict with India becomes inevitable. Information and EW Spectrum domains must be explored for non-kinetic operations against Indian political and military leadership so that Pakistan can expose Indian atrocities and can achieve higher moral ground before any open conflict.

Farzana Shah is a Peshawar based journalist having Masters in Journalism & Mass Communication with over 12-year experience in Media including print, electronic, broadcast. Contributes to different national, international news-wires on geopolitical, defence, strategic affairs. Won International Award in Journalism.

Notes

1. "2,000 Sat Phones, Drones, 35k Troops: How PM Modi Prepped for Article 370 Endgame." Hindustan Times, August 6, 2019. <https://www.hindustan-times.com/india-news/imran-khan-s-us-visit-weak-oppn-sped-up-article-370-endgame/story-Nqm9lVeETtkae2mzmVr4BK.html>
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Online, FE. "PoK Should Be United with India, Asserts Subramanian Swamy." The Financial Express. The Financial Express, August 24, 2019. <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/pok-should-be-united-with-india-asserts-subramanian-swamy/1685302/>.
5. "PoK Is Part of India and One Day We Will Have Physical Jurisdiction over It: External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar - OpIndia News." OpIndia, September 17, 2019. <https://www.opindia.com/2019/09/pok-is-part-of-india-and-one-day-we-will-have-physical-jurisdiction-over-it-external-affairs-minister-s-jaishankar/>
6. Press Trust of India. "After Article 370, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir Our Next Agenda: Union Minister Jitendra Singh." NDTV.com, September 10, 2019. <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/after-article-370-pakistan-occupied-kashmir-our-next-agenda-union-minister-jitendra-singh-2098814>
7. "The U.S.-India Nuclear Deal." Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed September 22, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-india-nuclear-deal>
8. Krishnan, Ananth. "China Unhappy over India-US Reference to South China Sea." India Today, October 8, 2014. <https://www.indiatoday.in/world/story/chi>



na-warns-india-south-china-sea-modi-obama-us-209087-2014-10-08

9. Manuel, Anja. "China Is Quietly Reshaping the World." The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, October 20, 2017. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/china-belt-and-road/542667/>
10. Online. "Russia Reportedly Becomes Part of CPEC." The Nation. The Nation, November 25, 2016. <https://nation.com.pk/25-Nov-2016/russia-reportedly-becomes-part-of-cpec>
11. Swalwell, Rep. Eric. "The Strife in Kashmir Isn't Just about India and Pakistan – It Is an Issue That Has Worldwide Military, Economic, and Moral Consequences. My Statement: Pic.twitter.com/WZxCFUUYUV." Twitter. Twitter, September 12, 2019. <https://twitter.com/repswalwell/status/1172155953317339138>



INDIA'S ANNEXATION OF KASHMIR: IMPLICATIONS & PAKISTAN'S OPTIONS



Senator Mushahid Hussain

Abstract

Writing precisely 2 years before Modi's blunder of annexation of IOJK on August 5, 2019, the grandniece of Jawaharlal Nehru, Nayantara Sahgal, wrote presciently in The Guardian on August 5, 2017 that "another partition (of India) stares us in the face". She accused Modi's RSS of "dividing India once again into Hindus and others, as the RSS wants to make the country a Hindu Rashtra". And she concluded that "we are rapidly marching towards a horrifying future". It is now clear that the "horrifying future" is there in the form of annexation of IOJK by Modi's India which is a blunder of Himalayan proportions, unleashing consequences which cannot be controlled. Perhaps, it can be compared on the same scale as Hitler's foolhardy act of January 22, 1941, Operation Barbarossa, of invading the Soviet Union after he had easily conquered Europe, with only Britain resisting. A combination of arrogance and ignorance about ground realities backed by a fascist ideology that sought to impose its military diktat became the first step in the unraveling of the Third Reich.

Keywords: *Kashmir Dispute, Human Right Violation, IOJK, RSS, UN Resolution on Kashmir*



Longest ever lockdown in IOJK

After the annexation of IOJK, it is clear that Modi has bitten off more than he can chew by spawning a crisis that is hitting at the heart of the Indian State, transforming its very character in a manner that it's narrow-minded, bigoted Establishment could never have anticipated.

Consider the consequences and far-reaching implications of this decision:

- Modi has divided India on political and communal lines that can have grave implications for Indian national unity and domestic stability.
- Kashmir has been internationalized in a manner that was never done to this extent not since the 1965 India-Pakistan war, with wholesale condemnation of the Indian action from Beijing to Brussels.
- The Kashmir Dispute has been discussed for the first time in the UN Security Council since the 1998 nuclear tests, when the UN Security Council, on June 6, 1998, passed the last unanimous Resolution # 1172, mentioning Kashmir by name: “Urges INDIA and PAKISTAN to resume dialogue between them on all outstanding issues... and encourages them to find mutually acceptable solutions that address the root causes of those tensions, including Kashmir”.
- Modi's move has galvanized separatists within India ranging from the Nagas who are now setting new pre-conditions in their talks

I did not know that I was going to hear that statement, I have to say. I was sitting there and I heard a very aggressive statement yesterday from India, from the Prime Minister
(President Trump)

with New Delhi, for example, seeking their “separate flag and constitution” as part of broader autonomy, while the Sikhs are actively campaigning for a Khalistan Referendum in 2020.

China has been alienated since China, now like Pakistan and the Kashmiri people, is directly a party to the dispute because of Modi's action to partition IOJK and declaring Laddakh a Union Territory

- The United States, for the first time in the last few years, has not only distanced itself from Modi's aggressive rhetoric but it has also refused to endorse Modi's perspective on Pakistan. During his meeting with the Pakistani Prime Minister on September 23, President Trump stated (referring to his joining Modi at the Houston public rally a day earlier) that “I did not know that I was going to hear that statement, I have to say. I was sitting there and I heard a very aggressive statement yesterday from India, from the Prime Minister” and, as if in disapproval, he repeated the phrase “a very aggressive statement” three times, clearly expressing his disbelief and surprise at the harsh tone and tenor of Modi's remarks before his Indian-American constituency. And Trump tried to balance his praise for Modi with his praise for the Pakistani Prime Minister and even when asked about the issue of terrorism, which Modi had referred in the context of Pakistan, Trump, instead of endorsing Modi, started calling out Iran as the main culprit on terrorism. He added that the United States had “treated Pakistan very badly in the past” and underlined that “you haven't had a more friendly President towards Pakistan (than Trump)”.



An unprecedented curfew and complete lockdown, complete cutoff of all communication, a situation that did not even prevail during the height of the siege of Stalingrad or Leningrad during World War II

- China has been alienated since China, now like Pakistan and the Kashmiri people, is directly a party to the dispute because of Modi's action to partition IOJK and declaring Laddakh a Union Territory. It was, therefore, not surprising that high-powered Chinese Military Delegation that visited Pakistan on August 26, included the People's Liberation Army Commander for 'Southern Tibet', the area on the Chinese side bordering India.
- The worst possible consequences have been within IOJK where resistance to repression has been rising, with an unprecedented curfew and complete lockdown, complete cutoff of all communication, a situation that did not even prevail during the height of the siege of Stalingrad or Leningrad during World War II. 6000 Kashmiris have been arrested without any charges and sent outside IOJK to jails in India ranging from the octogenarian former Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah to young teenage girls whose only crime has been to talk of 'Azadi' (freedom).

Modi and his RSS Gang are also fervent believers in the notion of "Akhand Bharat" (Greater India). So a fascist India will likely become more aggressive with Pakistan through low-intensity conflict, proxy wars, covert operations, threat of war and nuclear blackmail

- While there is a lot of bluff and bluster in Indian posturing, even nuclear sabre-rattling with the August 16 statement of Defence Minister Rajnath Singh questioning the utility of India's professed "No First Use" policy on nuclear weapons. The fact is that, deep down, the Indian Establishment, particularly the RSS gang led by Modi, combines a curious mixture of hatred and fear of Pakistan. They have what can be termed as a "Mehmood of Ghazni Complex", in other words, a fear of the Muslim inclination to 'go against the tide' to challenge injustice and wrong irrespective of an unequal size or strength! Sultan Mehmood of Ghazni has always been a very fascinating figure for the Hindutva ideologues, who, for them, symbolises what they view as "Muslim hordes from the North" with the Pakistan State seen as his contemporary potential 'successor'.

Modi, who is from Gujrat, also knows that the famous Somnath Temple, located in his State, was a favourite target of Sultan Mehmood of Ghazni. A deep-seated loathing of Sultan Mehmood is embedded in the Hindutva mindset. In 1978, when the then BJP Chief and Foreign Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee, went on an official visit to Afghanistan, the only special request he made was to visit Ghazni. His Afghan hosts were surprised, they said "Ghazni is just a small town, it's not a tourist spot, it has no 5-star hotels, why would you wish to go to such a place?" Vajpayee said 'Ghazni is like a thorn that continues to hurt us as Sultan Mehmood, the marauder who looted India several times, came from there!' Conversely, Allama Iqbal, who was invited by King Nadir Shah to visit Afghanistan in 1933, also requested for a special visit to Ghazni to pay homage to the memory of Sultan Mehmood, in whose honour he penned a few famous couplets. It is thus no accident that Modi declared his intention to "free India from 1200 years of slavery" in his speech to the Indian Parliament on June 12, 2014. Clearly, Modi's reference is to the period of Muslim domination in India as the British rule lasted for only 200 years.

For Pakistan, it should be clear that an existential threat is posed by Modi's India as the annexation of IOJK is the most important development for South Asia since 1971, given that the geography of the region has been changed. Modi and his RSS Gang are also fervent believers in the notion of "Akhand Bharat" (Greater India). So a fascist India will likely become more aggressive with Pakistan through low-intensity conflict, proxy wars, covert operations, threat of war and nuclear blackmail.





RSS is the die-hard ideological Hindutva crowd who hate Muslims and Pakistan, who presided over the ethnic cleansing of over 2000 Muslims in India's Gujrat State in 2002 and who are proud successors of the killers of Mahatma Gandhi

This situation should also be viewed in the context of the new global scenario where the balance of economic and political power is shifting from the West to the East. The 21st Century is an "Asian Century", particularly China's transition from a regional to a global power. Then there are makings of a New Cold War with the US National Security Strategy of 2018 terming China and Russia as a "more serious threat than Al Qaeda or ISIS".

Therefore, Pakistan needs to understand the nature of the challenge posed by Modi's move:

- The challenge is multi-dimensional: military, diplomatic, media, legal, all of which require sustaining a long-term strategy over a protracted period for the rest of Modi's term, at least 3-5 years.
- 70% of the battle is in the domain of public diplomacy and propaganda, the battle of narratives, the 'battle of ideas', through media, think tanks, NGOs/civil society, human rights groups, parliamentary diplomacy, keeping up the Kashmiri morale while promoting a cohesive and credible Pakistani narrative which we can sell at home and abroad.
- Clarity about the kind of enemy we are facing: this is the die-hard ideological Hindutva crowd who hate Muslims and Pakistan, who presided over the ethnic cleansing of over 2000 Muslims in India's Gujrat State in 2002, who actually believe in 'Akhand Bharat', and who are proud successors of the killers of Mahatma Gandhi. They will give no quarter and we should have no illusions about them either, as they will go to any extent to damage Pakistan.

The 73-page law suit by Kashmir - Khalistan Referendum Front in a US Court accuses Modi and Home Minister Amit Shah as well as IOJK Commander, Lt Gen Kanwaljeet Singh Dhillon, of carrying out "extra-judicial killings, wrongful deaths, crimes against humanity"

Given this context, Pakistan needs to pursue a multi-pronged strategy with a kind of clarity and commitment that Pakistani policy makers demonstrated while building the Nuclear Bomb. Once the decision was taken in 1974, the Bomb project was pursued to its logical conclusion in a relentless, single minded manner, irrespective of any pressures and it achieved success when Pakistan detonated its own homemade nuclear device on May 28, 1998, undoubtedly, Pakistan's finest hour. Such a strategy should target Modi and his RSS Gang, and separate them from the broader Indian society and polity that opposes Modi, along with a united front of all Kashmiris and the linkup of the Kashmiri resistance with other insurgencies inside India. Close coordination with China and the rest of the international community through a strategy sustained by national stamina are the need of the hour.



A good example of an unconventional approach is the legal initiative taken by the Kashmir-Khalistan Referendum Front in an American court of law. The 73-page law suit accuses Modi and Home Minister Amit Shah as well as IOJK Commander, Lt Gen Kanwaljeet Singh Dhillon, of carrying out “extra-judicial killings, wrongful deaths, crimes against humanity” against Kashmiris. The law suit against the Indian Prime Minister was filed under a Federal American statute, Torture Victim Protection Act of 1991, which allows civil suits on US soil against foreign officials who have violated Human Rights. Similar law suits in European courts, which also have a universal jurisdiction on Human Rights, can embarrass and damage the Indian leadership and expose the crimes that are being committed by them in the IOJK.

For starters, the focus should be on a Pakistani narrative. Indian writer Arundhati Roy’s classic



Thousands of Kashmiris protesting against Unilateral Annexation of IOJK by Modi on 5 August 2019

There has not been a single year since 1947 when the Indian Army has not been deployed within India’s borders against its ‘own people’. The list is long: IOJK, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur, Hyderabad, Assam,...

article in The New York Times of August 15, 2019, “Silence is the Loudest Sound” provides some useful pointers, since it says it all:

- Modi’s annexation of IOJK has a “distinct whiff of colonialism in the air”.
- ‘RSS is the State’ in Modi’s India.
- ‘An Architecture of Indian fascism is quickly being put in place’ by Modi and the RSS Gang.
- “There has not been a single year since 1947 when the Indian Army has not been deployed within India’s borders against its ‘own people’. The list is long: IOJK, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur, Hyderabad, Assam,...

To meet this existential threat, Pakistan needs single-minded determination with clarity and commitment. Luckily, Pakistan has got strategic space to pursue the Kashmir cause for the next couple of years due to changes in the regional scenario:

- Pakistan’s timely ‘course correction’ on the flawed Afghan policy of the past, reinforced by a clampdown on domestic extremism and militancy, Pakistan will no longer be caught in a ‘nutcracker’ like situation of being tied down both on the Western and Eastern borders.
- President Trump has linked his re-election in 2020 with the Afghan peace process in which Pakistan’s role is pivotal, hence, he feels that the road to the White House lies through Pakistan. Sooner than later, the Afghan peace talk will have to be revived.
- Thanks to China, which is providing strategic “air cover” to Pakistan through CPEC, the Pakistan-China alliance will be further strengthened for the common cause of a joint strategy to counter India.
- With the Gulf in turmoil and tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the last thing the International Community will want is a

No matter how things change in the world and the region, China will firmly support Pakistan in upholding its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and dignity



The Kashmiri determination to seek “Azadi” which is undeterred by any kind of force, will certainly supercede India’s ‘might is right’ approach as historically ‘right is might’

conflict between the two South Asian nuclear neighbours.

After India’s annexation of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir, the future course of events will depend on three factors. First, while the Indian attempt is to seek a semblance of ‘normalcy’ through the diktat of their bayonets and bullets, with almost a million men under arms trying to enforce the annexation as a fait accompli. The Kashmiri determination to seek “Azadi” which is undeterred by any kind of force, will certainly supercede India’s ‘might is right’ approach as historically ‘right is might’.

Second, Pakistan, as the principal defender of the Kashmiri people and leading exponent of the Kashmir cause, must maintain the resolve and stamina to sustain a long term strategy of supporting the Kashmiri people and resisting Indian hegemony so that the status quo, which is untenable and unacceptable to the Kashmiri people, is changed. Third, the China factor would be key in any strategy as China, being Pakistan’s strategic partner provides Pakistan an entry into the international system, especially the UN Security Council, the G-20 and the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

China’s leadership role in world affairs is a plus for Pakistan after having made the successful transition from a regional power to a global power. As Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi stated on March 18, 2019 during his meeting with his Pakistani counterpart: “no matter how things change in the world and the region, China will firmly support Pakistan in upholding its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and dignity”.

The China factor is also pivotal for two reasons in the context of Kashmir. China’s voice matters in the councils of power globally and when China speaks for Kashmir, that voice is heard loud and clear. An assertive China now has a global voice that resonates in key world capitals. As President Xi Jinping told the Communist Party Congress in Beijing on October 18, 2017 that “China has now

become a great power in the world and it is time for us take centre stage in the world and to make a greater contribution to humankind.”

The other factor is China’s growing military might which was on display during the massive October 1, 2019, Chinese National Day military parade in Beijing, which shows that China now has the military prowess as well as the political will and the economic clout to pursue its interests in the region and the world. A key component of those interests is China’s strategic partnership with Pakistan which, as the China’s Foreign Ministry spokesman said on September 24, 2019, is “unbreakable”.

India’s international image has suffered badly because of Modi’s August 5 blunder and for the first time in 30 years, the situation in IOJK is not being blamed on Pakistan

The biggest challenge for Pakistani policy makers is going to be on the military front as India’s international image has suffered badly because of Modi’s August 5 blunder and for the first time in 30 years, the situation in IOJK is not being blamed on Pakistan, rather the onus is on Indian actions alone. The Indian Establishment, including their military high command and the RSS Gang might wish to divert attention away from their own follies and crimes in IOJK and shift the onus on Pakistan either via a “false flag” operation or even a tactical military move on the Line of Control. Such threats have been openly hurled by the Indian military brass. For example, General Bipin Rawat, the Indian Army Chief told the Indian media on September 30 that “if we have to go across (the LOC), we will through the air or the ground route or both. The red line has been very clearly drawn as to what will be the future course of action” and in the same interview, he repeated the canard about “Pakistani terror training camps in Balakot”.

History teaches us that military might cannot crush a people’s will to be free. Vietnam, Afghanistan, racist South Africa and America’s own experience of ‘shock and awe’ in the post 9/11 period are instructive examples of failures of brute force to subjugate a people determined to resist. On August 5, Modi used a tried, tested and failed formula, deploying 900,000 armed men to browbeat 8 million defenceless but resilient and defiant Kashmiris. He assumed, like the Americans did in Iraq in 2003, that it would be a ‘cakewalk’!

RSS Gang might wish to divert attention away from their own follies and crimes in IOJK and shift the onus on Pakistan either via a “false flag” operation or even a tactical military move on the LOC



*Modi's India is bound to get stuck
and sink in the Kashmir quagmire*

Like others of his ilk, that decision has boomeranged and Modi's India is bound to get stuck and sink in the Kashmir quagmire. This action is a precursor of new challenges and opportunities for Pakistan to seize and to pursue a clear doable strategy that best preserves, protects and promotes the interests of Pakistan and the Kashmir cause

that we as a Nation are committed to espouse. Above all, it is a test of our leadership and the mettle of our people. As the Quaid-e-Azam said: "let it not be said that we did not prove ourselves equal to the task".

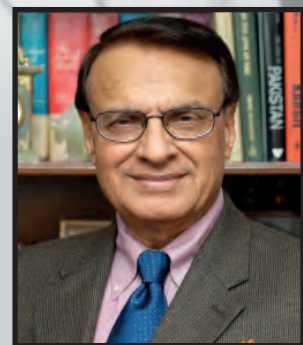
Senator Mushahid Hussain is Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and founding Chairman of the Pakistan-China Institute, a non-political and non-governmental think tank devoted to relations with China



History teaches us that military might cannot crush a people's will to be free. Vietnam, Afghanistan, racist South Africa and America's own experience of 'shock and awe' in the post 9/11 period are instructive examples of failures of brute force to subjugate a people determined to resist



INDIA PAKISTAN RELATIONS: IN PERSPECTIVE



**Ambassador
Shamsad Ahmad Khan
(Retd)**

Abstract

With a lingering suspicion that India had never reconciled to sub-continent's partition, we have been living since independence in the shadow of India's hostility and belligerence. This fear was not exaggerated when Pakistan saw Sikkim, Goa, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir falling to Indian avarice. This fear is not exaggerated today as Pakistan faces India's continued hostility and cold-blooded realpolitik. The two countries still remain locked in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation on the Line of Control in Kashmir and on the frozen landscapes of the Siachen Glacier. As one of the oldest unresolved international conflicts, Kashmir is today a nuclear flashpoint and a sombre reminder to the world that it cannot continue to ignore the legitimate aspirations of the Kashmiri people. No amount of atrocities and humiliations will stop them from pursuing their legitimate cause. Kashmiri youth are dying on the streets, not asking for jobs and employment opportunities. They want nothing but freedom from Indian occupation. Their message is loud and clear. India will do itself good by seeing the writing on the wall. Stark lessons are there to read in history. Popular movements cannot be suppressed. Even the world's sole super power today owes its existence to a long and arduous war of independence. Indian leaders cannot deny the reality of their own history. It was the War of Independence in 1857 that laid the road to India's liberation as an independent state. Kashmiris today are holding the Pakistan flag. It is their verdict that they are giving to the world from the streets of the Valley and elsewhere in the occupied territory. This is the crux of the Kashmir uprising.

Keywords: *Indian Hostility and Belligerence, Realpolitik, Kashmir, Nuclear Flash Point, Legitimate Freedom Struggle, Indian Occupation, IOJK*



We could not change our geography, nor choose our neighbours and had to live with geopolitical realities emanating from a tampered partition of the subcontinent that left a truncated Pakistan and disputed borders as a result of last minute malafide changes in the agreed demarcations lines. India-Pakistan relationship has been a troubled, and perhaps one of the most complex relationships in contemporary history. With all its ramifications, it has had a fundamental impact on Pakistan's domestic situation, its security policy, its international relations, and indeed, on the course of its entire post-independence history.

The 1947 partition itself was a traumatic experience with a lot of blood-shedding and one of the largest migrations in the world's history manifesting mutual hatred and animosity between the Hindus and Muslims of India. Scarred physically on its very birth, Pakistan's quest for security and survival has been as compelling as it has been perilously uncertain. To look at the future trajectory of this relationship, one must look at its past and present. And to look at its past and present, one must have a clearer understanding of four basic realities:

- History of their conflictual relationship.
- Cruelty of geopolitics.
- Complexity of the issues involved.
- Centrality of the Kashmir issue.

Historic Perspective

Pakistan and India have several things in common and the most obvious, perhaps, is their distrust and fear of each other. It stems from their legacy of conflict and confrontation that they inherited from their pre-independence era. In collusion with the British, the Indian National Congress manipulated the partition to ensure that Pakistan was treated only as seceding territory with no share in India's financial and military assets. No wonder, on its birth, Pakistan inherited a painful legacy of disputed borders and forced accession of Muslim states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir.

Those of us familiar with the history of the subcontinent know why having lived together for centuries, Hindus and Muslims could not

Scarred physically on its very birth, Pakistan's quest for security and survival has been as compelling as it has been perilously uncertain

develop a common nationhood. Despite their togetherness of more than a thousand years, the two communities remained distinct and poles apart with a different worldview altogether. Despite Mohammad Ali Jinnah's efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity, the beginning of the 20th century saw a line being drawn, making it impossible for Hindus and Muslims to live together in India. The Muslims were left with no doubt that in the Congress 'scheme of things', they had no future.

The years of independence movement in the first half of the last century had brought out the irreconcilable nature of the interests and aspirations of the two communities. What brought the simmering Muslim nationalism in the open was the character of the Congress rule in the Muslim minority provinces during 1937-39. They could live only on sufferance of Hindus and as "second class" citizens. They were convinced that it would be impossible for them to continue to live in an undivided India after the colonial rule because their interests would be completely suppressed.

That is why the Hindus and Muslims in the subcontinent, having lived together for centuries, finally opted to pursue their own destinies as two independent nations. As the British were planning to quit India, the Congress leaders were already visualizing India in the 'great-power' role in the style of the 19th century great-powers. In 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru as Minister for External Affairs in the then Interim government claimed there were only four great powers in the world, namely, the USA, USSR, China and India. Britain did not appear in his list because Nehru thought without India, England was no great power.



What brought the simmering Muslim nationalism in the open was the character of Congress rule in Muslim minority provinces during 1937-39. They could live only on sufferance of Hindus and as "second class" citizens



After Nehru had swallowed the bitter pill of Partition, he vainly hoped, as did Sardar Patel, that Pakistan would prove insolvent after it was born and, not in the too-distant future, Jinnah and Liaquat would beg forgiveness and ask for permission to re-join India's union

In other words, India was already being conceived as the successor of the British in the East. Alluding to Pakistan, Nehru claimed it will eventually survive only as a culturally

that belonged to it. Even the announcement of the new borders was delayed for malafide reasons. A hurried transfer of power gave Pakistan no time to prepare itself for the challenges of a new state.

The vindictive attitude of the Hindu majority to Pakistan's creation at that time was best summed up by Sir Francis Tuka: "In effect what they said was "Well, if the Muslims want Pakistan, let them damned well have it and with vengeance. We shall shear every possible, every inch of their territory to make it look silly and to ensure that it is not a viable country and when they have got what's left, we'll ensure that it can't be worked economically."¹

There is no denying the fact that the Indian leadership never reconciled to the existence of Pakistan. They opposed its creation tooth and nail on one pretext or the other.

After Nehru had swallowed the bitter pill of Partition, he vainly hoped, as did Sardar Patel, that Pakistan would prove insolvent after it was born and, not in the too-distant future, Jinnah and Liaquat would beg forgiveness and ask for permission to re-join India's union. Earlier, Nehru had spoken the Indian mind by lamenting "the proposals to allow certain parts to secede was painful for any one of us to contemplate". India thus spared no opportunity to undo Pakistan or even to wear it down as it eventually did in 1971. No wonder, the two countries have built a huge legacy of conflict and confrontation.

The Congress leaders had accepted the June 1947 Partition Plan only as a tactical move. Their ultimate strategic goal remained to rule over the entire Subcontinent

Quaid's Warning

After Pakistan's independence, the Quaid's visualized Pakistan's policy of peaceful co-existence in strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter in the following words: "There is nothing that we desire more ardently than to live in peace and let others live in peace without outside interference."² As a leader of the nation, Quaid-e-Azam was however fully cognizant of the threats to the new state of Pakistan in the very beginning of its independent statehood. The Quaid warned his people "to be aware of their enemies who do not wish well to Pakistan and would not like it to grow and be powerful".



1947 - Migration to Pakistan during Partition

autonomous area with no independent political character. This was the thinking behind the last-minute manipulations by the Congress leaders to ensure in collusion with the British that the new state of Pakistan was left as truncated as possible to make its survival as a state difficult if not impossible. To this end, they tried to have NWFP now kpk excluded from the territories which were to constitute Pakistan.

As part of this move, Gandhi even introduced the idea of Pakhtoonistan or an independent North-West Frontier Province. But thanks to the Quaid's foresight and vigilance, not only the NWFP in a referendum overwhelmingly voted for Pakistan but also the latter became a reality, not as a culturally autonomous entity but as an independent, sovereign member of the international community. Meanwhile, the Congress leaders had accepted the June 1947 Partition Plan only as a tactical move. Their ultimate strategic goal remained to rule over the entire Subcontinent. They hoped the two-nation idea will soon be discarded by all.

These wishful expressions were not mere statements. They were reflection of Congress's calculated future game-plan which was to be played out in collusion with the British. They had already joined together in manipulating the partition plan, first by advancing the date for the transfer of power from June 1, 1948 to August 15, 1947, and then fiddling with the Radcliffe Award to deprive Pakistan of the Muslim majority areas



Those who unwisely think that they can undo Pakistan are sadly mistaken. Nothing on earth now will succeed in touching Pakistan whose roots are now deeply laid

(Quaid-e-Azam)

He knew they would like to see it destroyed at its very inception. But he warned: “those who unwisely think that they can undo Pakistan are sadly mistaken. Nothing on earth now will succeed in touching Pakistan whose roots are now deeply laid.”³ What the Quaid in fact said was that Pakistan had come to stay and there is no power on earth that can undo it.⁴ Indeed, India’s cherished dream has always been to weaken and undo Pakistan or to quote Jawaharlal Nehru, to reincorporate Pakistan into an Indian dominated confederation. This burning desire on the part of Congress leaders was not merely an emotional urge.

It was dictated solely by the self-interest, as Pakistanis see it, of an ambitious people who wished always to be on top. Pakistan, in Indian eyes, stood in the way of fulfilling their dream of regional hegemony and dominance. Unless Pakistan was weak and vulnerable, India’s supremacy in the region and beyond would remain just a dream. While India has spared no effort to weaken and annihilate Pakistan, its dream of unchallenged supremacy at regional and global levels remains as elusive as ever. The wars they have been fighting were the wars between two ideologies though the apparent causes looked different.

The physical separation of more than a thousand miles between the two wings without a common border and surrounded by Indian territory and influences led to constant political, economic and social conflicts between the two parts of Pakistan; a situation that India found tempting to break Pakistan apart. The 1971 war, a typical example of India’s aggressive designs against Pakistan, was not a war in its conventional sense. It was a domestic political crisis in which India intervened militarily and managed to

The 1971 war, was not a war in its conventional sense. It was a domestic political crisis in which India intervened militarily and managed to dismember Pakistan, the worst that could happen to any country in the contemporary world

dismember Pakistan, the worst that could happen to any country in the contemporary world.

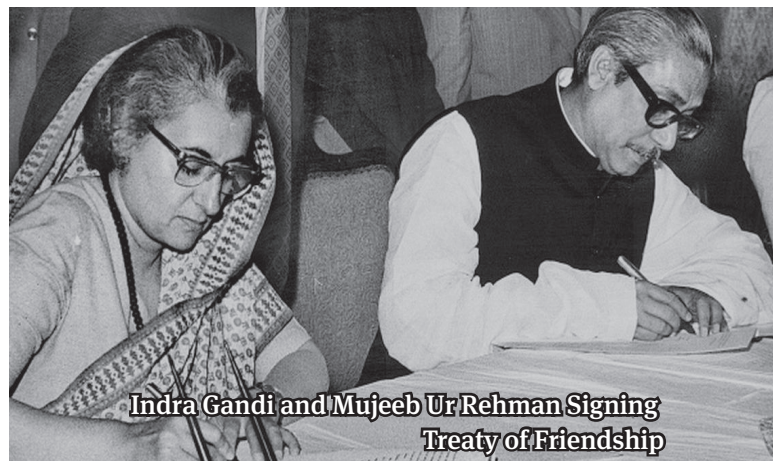
The tragic events of 1971 remain scarred into the Pakistani psyche, creating an indelible fear and apprehension of India’s continued hostility and belligerence

Stark Reality

Challenges of geopolitics are crucial for any state. In our case, they have been of exceptional nature. To start with, Pakistan’s geopolitics gave it a truncated territory and disputed borders with India managing last-minute, surreptitious changes in the Radcliffe Award that deprived Pakistan of some of the most strategically located Muslim-majority areas. These included the districts of Ferozepur and Gurdaspur which provided India an easy access to the State of Jammu and Kashmir which it was to later occupy forcibly as part of its ‘grab strategy’ in total breach of the June 3, 1947 Partition Plan.

Territorially, on its birth, Pakistan was a unique example. It was a house divided, not against itself but by a thousand miles of hostile India’s territory. With no parallel anywhere in the world, Pakistan came into being like the Siamese Twins with its two halves joined together by just a little bit of ‘heart and mind’ connection. The ‘heart and mind’ connection was too weak to withstand the pressures of physical separateness, and within less than quarter of a century it got severed brutally through India’s military intervention. The cruelty of geopolitics did not end with our country’s dismemberment.

India still militarily occupies a vast territory, including Kashmir, Siachen, Kargil and water sources that belonged to us. The tragic events of 1971 remain scarred into the Pakistani psyche, creating an indelible fear and apprehension of



Indira Gandhi and Mujeeb Ur Rehman Signing Treaty of Friendship



Indian strategists speak openly of a greater India exercising a dominant position in an area ranging from Iran to Thailand. India is also positioning itself to control the Indian Ocean militarily; its naval and air power programs point clearly in that direction— as do politically guided efforts to establish for India strong positions, with geostrategic implications in adjoining Bangladesh and Burma

(Zbigniew Brzezinski)

India's continued hostility and belligerence. India did succeed in breaking Pakistan apart but the state that Quaid-e-Azam had created as a 20th century miracle not only survived but to India's dismay has in fact been thriving as an equal in power and strength to India in all respects. Its dream of unchallenged supremacy at regional and global levels remains as elusive as ever.

This brings us face to face with the stark reality of our geo-political environment that makes Pakistan's relations with India the "centre-point" of its foreign policy. Since their independence, India and Pakistan in their adversarial mode, have no doubt built a huge legacy of mutual mistrust and apprehensions that continues even after their independence. According to the renowned American scholar-diplomat Dennis Kux who dealt with India and Pakistan for over two decades, "Pakistan's traumatic birth would have made the India-Pakistan relationship difficult and complex under the best of circumstances"⁵

Kux admitted the complexity of India-Pakistan reality: "Even though foreign affairs did not play a significant role in the struggle for Pakistan, the outlines of the new country's foreign policy quickly emerged. Relations with India overshadowed everything else." He added: "Perhaps more normal if not friendly ties might have evolved had the dispute over the Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir not provided a chronic flashpoint to embitter relations between India and Pakistan."⁶



Jawaharlal Nehru, Thiru Kamaraj, Indira Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Shastri seated before the map of 'Akhand Bharat' on 21 February 1952

The aspirations of the people of Kashmir were stifled by force when India militarily occupied it and brutally violated the partition plan.

Regional Hegemon

For Pakistan, as it continues to face India's threat to its survival, its sole worry has been how to preserve and safeguard its independence and territorial integrity. India is also a threat to the regional as well as global peace and security. In the aftermath of 9/11, the security challenges in our region have been proliferating in a manner that has not only made us the focus of world attention but also forced us to make difficult choices in our struggle for survival as an independent state. India's aggressive designs have been a source of concern and anxiety not only to Pakistan but also to its other neighbours.

India's aggressive designs have been a source of concern and anxiety not only to Pakistan but also to its other neighbours

To make things even worse, India continues to assert itself as a regional hegemon.⁷ It has its ambitions not only to dominate the periphery of Indian Ocean but also the vast areas from Iran to the Straits of Malacca. A renowned American strategist Zbigniew Brzezinski confirms this dreary phenomenon: "Indian strategists speak openly of a greater India exercising a dominant position in an area ranging from Iran to Thailand. India is also positioning itself to control the Indian Ocean militarily; its naval and air power programs point clearly in that direction— as do politically guided efforts to establish for India strong positions, with geostrategic implications in adjoining Bangladesh and Burma."⁸

An eminent Indian security analyst C. Raja Mohan also admits this reality by claiming that India's grand strategy divides the world into three concentric circles. "In its immediate neighbourhood, India seeks primacy and a veto over actions of outside powers. In its extended neighbourhood stretching across Asia and the Indian Ocean littoral, India seeks to balance the influence of other powers and prevent them from undermining its interests. At the global stage, India seeks to take its place as one of the great powers, a key player in global peace and security."⁹



In this alarming backdrop, all countries in South Asia have reason to be concerned over India's hegemonic designs. No wonder, political tensions and bilateral disputes have further vitiated the regional environment. In Pakistan's case, India not only refuses to solve its old problems but also keeps creating new problems to keep Pakistan under pressure. At work in Delhi is the Chanakya mindset "The enemy of my enemy is my friend." India has also been using Afghanistan to destabilize Pakistan. A ruling BJP leader was blunt enough to suggest that "India cannot make progress unless Pakistan is finished off."



Afghan lady officers being trained at OTA Chennai, India

Claiming that war between India and Pakistan has become inevitable, he advised the Government of India to join hands with Afghanistan and destroy Pakistan as soon as possible. Obviously for Pakistan, India's continued belligerence and hostility remain a perennial threat to its security and survival. In fact, from the very beginning of its independent statehood, Pakistan has been confronted with serious challenges that perhaps no other country in the world has ever experienced. In the process, it has been a victim of wars and conflicts resulting from India's cold-blooded realpolitik.

India's oversized territorial centrality in our region indeed creates many problems including the fear of domination among its smaller neighbours and a host of border and ethnic issues and water disputes in the region all of which involve India, be it India-Pakistan, India-Bangladesh or India-Nepal. Also, all SAARC countries share borders with India but not with each other, with the exception of Afghanistan which shares border with Pakistan. This unique geographic feature limits the scope of genuine regional cooperation and also casts ominous shadows on the prospects of peace in our region.

Because of its sheer size and centrality, India has in fact sought to remain more or less alone as an exclusive power asserting itself as no less than 'primus inter pares' (first among the equals) without having to be identified in tandem with the rest of sovereign states in its surrounding. The complexity of these issues is rooted in South Asia's turbulent political history, its geo-strategic importance, its untapped economic potentials, and the gravity of its problems impacting the overall global security environment. No wonder, South Asia is today "the most dangerous place on earth" where peace is hostage to one miscalculation.

This reality itself, as a poignant reminder of this region's critical importance for regional peace and stability, brings us face to face with three key conflict areas or flashpoints deeply impacting South Asia's security paradigm, namely, the Afghan turmoil, the India-Pakistan gridlock and the post-9/11 power imbalances in the region. Serious economic and social challenges that this vast region now faces have been compounded by long-standing intra-regional tension and unresolved disputes. The situation is being aggravated by growing nuclear and military disparities in the region as a result of global double standards.¹⁰

Ominous Nexus

The overall security complex in South Asia is aggravated by the new power configuration with a growing Indo-US nexus giving India a strategic ascendancy in the region with an unprecedented role and influence in Afghanistan that it uses for covert subversion and sabotage in Pakistan's tribal areas and Balochistan bordering Afghanistan.

A ruling BJP leader was blunt enough to suggest that "India cannot make progress unless Pakistan is finished off"

As we fulfilled our obligations in the post 9/11 US-led war on terror, we saw the US developing a new ominous equation with India at the cost of Pakistan's legitimate security interests. This is how India-Pakistan conflict found surreptitious induction into the murky Afghan theatre.

Afghanistan is an area of fundamental strategic importance to Pakistan and India's subversive presence in its backyard has been a serious threat to Pakistan's legitimate security interest. If the Soviet presence in Cuba almost triggered a nuclear war in the early 1960s, India's continued

US is developing a new ominous equation with India at the cost of Pakistan's legitimate security interests. This is how India-Pakistan conflict found surreptitious induction into the murky Afghan theatre



ascendancy in Afghanistan will remain a danger of no less gravity to the already volatile security environment of this nuclearised region. The risk of an India-Pakistan proxy war in Afghanistan is fraught with perilous implications for regional and global peace and must be averted at all costs.

Unfortunately, enough attention was never given to the genuine need for sustainable peace and security in this volatile region. If the turbulent political history of this region had any lessons, world powers' engagement in this region should have been aimed at promoting strategic balance rather than disturbing it. They should have been taking steps to encourage India-Pakistan dialogue for peaceful settlement of their disputes. They should have also been eschewing discriminatory policies in dealing with this volatile nuclear equation, the only one in the world that grew up in history totally unrelated to the Cold War.

But this never happened. The US not only dehyphenated Pakistan from India, bracketing it with the stone-aged Afghanistan but also signed a long-term multi-billion-dollar military pact with India in 2006 and then in 2008, it entered into a country-specific discriminatory nuclear deal with India introducing an ominous dimension to the already unstable security environment of this vast region. Country-specific preferential treatment that India is receiving is not only widening nuclear imbalances in the region but also undermining the prospects of India-Pakistan restraint and stabilization.

It has already emboldened India in its intransigent no-dialogue policy. Any measures that contribute to widening of strategic imbalances, lowering of nuclear threshold and fueling of arms race between the two nuclear-armed neighbours with an escalatory effect on their military budgets

Country-specific preferential treatment that India is receiving is not only widening nuclear imbalances in the region, but also undermining the prospects of India-Pakistan restraint and stabilization

are no service to the peoples of the region. Since Pakistan's actions in the nuclear and missile fields at each stage are force majeure in response to India's escalatory steps, an element of mutuality in restraint and responsibility is required for nuclear and conventional stabilization in our region.

Obviously, in the face of India's fast developing capabilities, including its dangerous weapon-inductions, aggressive doctrines and devious nuclear cooperation arrangements, equally dangerous options in response become inevitable. Already, India's triad-based nuclear doctrine, its aggressive 'Cold Start' strategy and its introduction of anti-ballistic missile system constitute 'overkill' for the region's security. A nuclearised region cannot afford any more adventurism, not even a limited conventional war that India's devious doctrine now seeks to impose on Pakistan through an intense conventional offensive.

Our main concern has always been to offset India's superior conventional strength. The only credible response has to be a counter force which in the dreary India-Pakistan scenario could only be tactical warheads. On its part, Pakistan is opposed to a nuclear and conventional arms race in the region and remains committed to restraint and stabilization through credible minimum deterrence as our doctrinaire policy. We have made several proposals to India including the Strategic Restraint Regime involving three interlocking elements: conflict resolution, nuclear and missile restraint, and conventional balance.

India remains averse to our proposals citing its extra-regional concerns although its force potential largely remains Pakistan-specific. Peace in our region will come not through discriminatory country-specific military and nuclear deals' but only through equitable approaches that promote meaningful dialogue and constructive engagement for conflict-resolution and peaceful co-existence.

Pakistan is opposed to a nuclear and conventional arms race in the region and remains committed to restraint and stabilization through credible minimum deterrence as our doctrinaire policy

While the post-9/11 world was focused on the US military campaign in Afghanistan, India thought it could take advantage of the global anti-terror sentiment to transform IOJK into an issue of terrorism

Perpetuation of hegemony will not serve the cause of peace. As the largest country in the region, the onus lies with India to inspire confidence among its neighbours.

Critical Threshold

The events of 9/11 represented a critical threshold in Pakistan's foreign policy. It was the beginning of another painful chapter in our history. In the blink of an eye, we became a pivotal player in another US-led long war in our region. The tragic events of 9/11 should have served as a catalyst to bring India and Pakistan together in addressing the underlying political and socio-economic problems that in fact reflect the root causes of terrorism. They should have been evolving common strategies to focus together poverty and backwardness. But India had its own plans.

While the post-9/11 world was focused on the US military campaign in Afghanistan, India thought it could take advantage of the global anti-terror sentiment to transform IOJK into an issue of terrorism. After the engineered attacks on the IOJK State Assembly building on October 1, 2001 and the Indian parliament building in Delhi on December 13, 2001, Pakistan was blamed for both incidents without any investigations or evidence. In a blatant show of brinkmanship, India moved all its armed forces to Pakistan's borders as well as the Line of Control in Kashmir.

In mounting an unprecedented war hysteria, the Indian leadership ignored the gravity of its implications. South Asia was dragged into a confrontational mode that served no one's interests, not even India's own. Intense diplomatic pressure by the US and G-8 countries averted what could have been a catastrophic clash between the two nuclear states. It was again the pressure from those influential powers that the stalled India-Pakistan dialogue was resumed in January 2004. In the Joint Statement of 6 January 2004, President Musharraf pledged not to allow any 'cross-border activity' from Pakistan's soil.

Ironically, since 2006, India has sought to implicate Pakistan in every act of terrorism on its soil. It blamed Pakistan for successive train attacks in Mumbai in July 2006, Samjhota Express in February 2007, and finally the Mumbai attacks on November 26, 2008. This was also the time



when President Obama then campaigning for his first term publicly acknowledged the need for an early Kashmir settlement. After the Mumbai attacks in November 2008, the 'K' word abruptly disappeared from Obama's dictionary. In a calibrated diversionary campaign, India sought to link the Kashmir issue with terrorism.

No doubt, India has been taking full advantage of Pakistan's domestic weaknesses. India refuses to return to the negotiating table until Pakistan meets its self-serving conditions. As it gets a sympathetic ear in the US and elsewhere in the world on the issue of what it alleges to be Pakistan-sponsored terrorism, India smells blood thinking that now is the time for a "kill." In its calculation, it can bring Pakistan to a point where it would surrender on the Kashmir cause. India is mistaken. Kashmir is not merely a territorial dispute. It represents the unfinished agenda of the June 3, 1947, Partition Plan.

Nuclear Flashpoint

On their independence, India and Pakistan inherited many problems. At the heart of all their problems is the unresolved Kashmir dispute which as a core issue between the two neighbours not only invokes intense feelings among their peoples but is also inextricably linked to peace and security of the region. India and Pakistan have fought wars and still remain in a conflictual mode with frequent

No doubt, India has been taking full advantage of Pakistan's domestic weaknesses. India refuses to return to the negotiating table until Pakistan meets its self-serving conditions



violent eruptions along the Line of Control.

While all other issues are amenable to easy solution, the Kashmir dispute invokes intense feelings among the peoples of both India and Pakistan as well as the Kashmiri people.

The clash in 1948, the 1965 war, Siachen dispute, Kargil crisis, the volatile Line of Control, unabated war-like military deployments, persistent water disputes, ongoing tensions and Pakistan's unending strategic fears and

As one of the oldest unresolved international conflicts, Kashmir is today a nuclear flashpoint and a sombre reminder to the world that it cannot continue to ignore the legitimate aspirations of the Kashmiri people

apprehensions are all directly related to IOJK. Their historical experiences, scars of partition, cultural diversities, religious fervour, wars and conflicts, India's hegemonic designs, unrelenting liberation struggle in IOJK and India's unabated human rights violations and atrocities in the occupied territory all come together in a curious convergence in the unresolved dispute of Kashmir.

As one of the oldest unresolved international conflicts, Kashmir is today a nuclear flashpoint



Even the Indian opposition leaders were not allowed to visit the occupied territory which is experiencing a daily brutal regime of arbitrary arrests, curfews, raids and controlled checkpoints enforced by nearly 800,000 Indian soldiers

and a sombre reminder to the world that it cannot continue to ignore the legitimate aspirations of the Kashmiri people. The Kashmiris want nothing but freedom from Indian occupation. Their indigenous struggle goes on undeterred for more than three decades now with thousands of Kashmiris already laying down their lives. Interestingly, during Prime Minister Imran Khan's visit to Washington in July 2019, President Trump offered to play a facilitating role in resolving the Kashmir issue.

This was the best- ever position taken by an American president in recent history on India-Pakistan issues. But as expected, India's response to this offer came in a gruesome rebuff abolishing Article 370 and 35-A of its Constitution which since 1949 had kept a semblance of limited autonomy for the Occupied State of Jammu and Kashmir. To further aggravate the situation, India's Prime Minister Modi rushed additional civil-armed troops as part of a cold-blooded military crackdown in the occupied state. No wonder last few months have seen a complete shutdown with Kashmiri people being subjected to untold hardship.

The Valley today is the scene of the biggest, bloodiest and also the most obscure military occupation in the world. Even the Indian opposition leaders were not allowed to visit the occupied territory which is experiencing a daily brutal regime of arbitrary arrests, curfews, raids and controlled checkpoints enforced by nearly 800,000 Indian soldiers. Kashmiris today feel betrayed and are demanding to be freed from Indian military rule. Theirs is the voice of a wronged people challenging the world's and India's conscience. But no amount of atrocities and humiliations will stop them from pursuing their legitimate cause.

They are paying a huge price being paid in terms of military, material, moral and human costs in the Indian occupation of Kashmir against the

Kashmiri youth are dying on the streets, not asking for jobs and employment opportunities. They are holding the Pakistan flag; it is a clear verdict!



wishes of its people. This is a situation without precedent in South Asia and with few parallels in the world today. India is forcibly hanging on to Kashmir when the Kashmiris don't want to have anything to do with India. They want nothing but freedom. The Kashmiris consider Indian forces as an occupation force. Their message is loud and clear. The Kashmir issue is not about governance or economic packages or even "incentives for a prosperous future."

The IOJK is today aflame with volcanic eruption of unrelenting popular anger and frustration against India's military occupation. It is a political revolt which has over the years turned into a mass movement giving a new dimension to the Kashmiri struggle for freedom. Brutal military force brings no relief to anyone. Kashmiri youth are dying on the streets, not asking for jobs and employment opportunities. They are holding the Pakistan flag. It is a verdict they are giving to the world on the streets of the Valley and elsewhere in the occupied territory. This is the crux of the Kashmir uprising.

India will do itself good by seeing the writing on the wall. Stark lessons are there to read in history. India's efforts to obfuscate the Kashmir dispute as an issue of terrorism will not succeed. With resurgence of the liberation struggle, Kashmir is again at the global centre stage. Popular movements cannot be suppressed. Even the world's sole super power today owes its existence to a long, arduous war of independence. Indian leaders cannot deny the reality of their own history. It was the War of Independence in 1857 that laid the road to India's liberation as an independent state.

India is not a superpower, but it aspires to be one. It seeks to be a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and yet it is unwilling to

Popular movements cannot be suppressed. Even the world's sole super power today owes its existence to a long, arduous War of Independence

implement the Council's resolutions. On the one hand, it tries to mislead the world and obfuscate the Kashmir issue by alleging that it is simply about 'cross-border terrorism and infiltration'. On the other hand, it does not allow UN peacekeepers to check this so-called infiltration. The truth is that Kashmir is neither about cross-border infiltration nor terrorism; it is about the denial of an indigenous people's inalienable right to self-determination.

Ending the so-called infiltration will not end the struggle for freedom of the Kashmiri people against a brutal military occupation of their homeland. To misrepresent the gravity and magnitude of the Kashmiri uprising, India has been crying wolf by raising the bogey of "terrorism." What it doesn't understand is that there is no going back for the people of IOJK. Woefully, the UN has washed its hands off in IOJK by signaling to India that 'it's your problem'. But the world community has an obligation to facilitate a Kashmir settlement.

The Kashmir settlement has to be in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people, impartially ascertained, in conditions of freedom from intimidation and coercion. It's indeed a colossal challenge that can be met only through compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions pledging to the people of Kashmir their inalienable right of self-determination. Excessive reliance on military force and coercion will only jeopardize the cause of peace.



FM Qureshi announces formation of 'Kashmir Cell' in FO



We will teach you a lesson this time that you will never forget. Let there be no misunderstanding that Pakistan's armed forces are ready to foil any Indian aggression

(PM Imran Khan)

Ambassador of Kashmir

In his debut appearance at the UN General Assembly on September 27, 2019, Prime Minister Imran Khan articulated Pakistan's principled position on the Kashmir dispute drawing the world's attention to India's atrocities in the occupied territory where the Kashmiris are suffering the worst hardship and human rights abuses. Earlier in his 14 August 2019 address at the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly, Imran Khan had promised the Kashmiris that from now onward, he will be their ambassador at every global forum. Imran Khan has indeed fulfilled his mission with courage and with conviction.

His sole purpose at the UN was to wake up the world and sensitize it to the ongoing brutality being perpetrated by Indian occupation forces in IOJK. On the sidelines of the General Assembly, Prime Minister Imran Khan had several bilateral meetings with his counterparts from other countries drawing their attention to unprecedented lockdown in the IOJK. Overall, the centrality of the Kashmir dispute was the focus of his efforts in New York. Drawing parallels between Hitler's Nazi regime and Modi-led India's RSS, Imran Khan urged the world to stop India's brutality in the IOJK.

His message to Narendra Modi was loud and clear: "We will teach you a lesson this time that you will never forget. Let there be no misunderstanding that Pakistan's armed forces are ready to foil any Indian aggression," he said. At the same time, Imran Khan assured the Kashmiris that Pakistan will always stand by them. We will never abandon the Kashmiris and will continue to support their

legitimate freedom struggle. Their cause is our cause. Looking ahead, the challenge for us is to sustain the momentum and to keep the world engaged on Kashmiris' human rights sufferings.

This requires a calibrated diplomatic offensive through our serving and retired diplomats in world's major capitals and relevant global forums. Kashmiris are waging a valiant freedom struggle. This time, the Kashmiris have discovered the power of resilience. We must strengthen their resolve. The only way we can do this is to strengthen their freedom movement through determined political, economic, moral and diplomatic support. The Kashmiri diaspora and other oppressed Indian minorities will obviously be a pivotal factor in this campaign.

The world now understands Modi's fascist plan to impose a 'final solution' by changing Kashmir's demographic composition. This is bound to provoke a fierce reaction from the Kashmiri people. The prospect of an impending genocide in IOJK is a clarion call to the world community to act now before it is too late. Major powers and the UN must intervene to prevent mass murder and genocide in IOJK. They must not ignore Imran Khan's warnings that this time an India-Pakistan conflict could erupt into a nuclear apocalypse that must be averted at all costs.

What we need is an 'uninterrupted and unintermittible' dialogue to turn a new leaf in the embittered relations between India and Pakistan



The world now understands Modi's fascist plan to impose a 'final solution' by changing Kashmir's demographic composition

Looking Ahead

Speaking of peace in our region, there can be no two opinions on the need for durable peace between India and Pakistan – the only two nuclear-armed neighbours with a legacy of outstanding disputes and a history of conflictual standoffs. By now, what should be clear to both sides is that there will be no military solution to their problems. Their problems are real and will not disappear or work out on their own as some people on both sides have lately started believing. Given the complexity of the issues involved, this legacy will not evaporate simply by blowing out the flames.

The two countries will have to go beneath the fire to extinguish it at its source. They must reduce mutual tensions and encourage forums in media and civil society to reinforce the lobbies in both countries for peace and stability. Kashmir remains the overarching factor casting shadow on the prospects of peace in the entire region. A solution of the Kashmir dispute will have to be found in a manner that is acceptable to both India and Pakistan and to the people of Kashmir. This requires resumption of India-Pakistan dialogue to build up trust and confidence and an ambiance for mutual discussion on their disputes.

It's only through constructive dialogue and engagement, that the two countries can create the needed 'enabling environment' for genuine progress towards resolving their disputes. Depending on progress on Kashmir and in mutual confidence-building, the two countries in due course could also explore a long-term mutually agreed mechanism for conflict-prevention, conflict-resolution and peaceful settlement of disputes. The success of this process will depend entirely on the freshness of political approach that the leadership in both countries will be prepared to bring in making it a result-focused engagement.

Surely, there will be no quick-fixes and perhaps a long-drawn-out process would be

inevitable. What we need is an 'uninterrupted and unintermittible' dialogue to turn a new leaf in the embittered relations between India and Pakistan. To improve the climate, India must show its good faith by eschewing hegemonic designs, abandoning bellicosity and brinkmanship, and sincerely joining Pakistan in overcoming all bilateral problems including Kashmir. It is time to restore peace and stability in South Asia. To achieve that, the international community must wake up to its responsibility before it is too late.

How we conduct ourselves in dealing with India's RSS-led new fascism is today the most important challenge of our foreign policy. Only a strong and stable Pakistan can withstand India's belligerence. Weakness always begets indignity. Instead of betraying domestic weaknesses and vulnerabilities, we need to strengthen ourselves to be able to sustain our principled position on Kashmir and other outstanding issues that India is currently seeking to redefine by obfuscating them into the larger issue of terrorism. No law in the world can allow the inalienable right of self-determination to be branded as terrorism.

Yes, terrorism occurs most often when a powerful state uses its brute force to suppress the legitimate right of a people to self-determination, liberty and freedom and where it is applied to occupy a weaker people or country. And when there are no legitimate means of addressing the massive and systemic political, economic and social grievances, an environment is created in which peaceful solutions often lose out against extreme and violent alternatives. In such situations, terrorism does become a tactical tool of asymmetric warfare by the weak and the desperate against the oppressor.

Self-determination is the cardinal principle enshrined in the UN Charter that shaped the world in the post-World War II decades. The setting aside of the UN resolutions is one thing, the discarding of the principle they embodied is quite another. The underlying cardinal principle of self-determination cannot be thrown overboard. We must remain steadfast in our commitment to this principle. Instead of begging for dialogue, we need to strengthen ourselves to be able to sustain our principled position on Kashmir and other outstanding that India is currently seeking to redefine as terrorism.

Meanwhile, we also need to change the world's perception of our country, which surely

No law in the world can allow the inalienable right of self-determination to be branded as terrorism



has many reasons and assets other than terrorism and violence to be recognised as a responsible member of the international community. We must free ourselves of the forces of obscurantism, extremism, violence, militancy and intolerance. In recent years, we have become weak and crippled domestically because of leadership miscarriages and governance failures. India has been taking advantage of our weaknesses. Domestic consolidation with special focus on security and economic situation must be our priority.

Kashmir Way Forward

On Kashmir, beyond the UN resolutions, there is no compact formula or tailor-made solution available for addressing this core issue. After decades of their liberation struggle, the Kashmiri people, inspired by similar movements for freedom in other parts of the world, have been waging a fierce struggle against Indian military occupation since the later part of 1989.

In keeping with our solidarity with the Kashmir cause, we must continue to support the legitimate liberation struggle of the Kashmiri people and sustain the momentum that our Prime Minister's recent diplomatic campaign has generated at the global level by highlighting the Indian atrocities and human rights abuses in IOJK. The Kashmiris need our continued support in their legitimate freedom struggle. Their cause is our cause.

To misrepresent the magnitude of the Kashmiri uprising, India has been crying wolf by raising the bogey of "terrorism." The truth is that Kashmir is neither about cross-border infiltration nor terrorism; it is about the denial of an indigenous people's right to freedom and dignity. No matter what the Indians claim, there is but one fair, just and legal solution to Kashmir as provided in those resolutions.

Kashmir is not a real estate issue. It concerns the destiny of a people who were promised their right to self-determination. The US doesn't have to demarcate any boundaries. It just has to stand on the side of justice and legality. It should only facilitate resumption of the stalled India-Pakistan dialogue to find a solution which is in conformity with the aspirations of the Kashmiri people and which both India and Pakistan find commensurate to their legitimate security interests.

The truth is that Kashmir is neither about cross-border infiltration nor terrorism; it is about the denial of an indigenous people's right to freedom and dignity

As recently as the late 1990s and during the President Musharraf era, India and Pakistan were showing "flexibility of approach" in their quest for a peaceful settlement of the core issue. Obviously, they knew that this would require them to move beyond their respective stated positions (status quo) and to find a "practical and achievable" solution which would take into account the legitimate interests of India, Pakistan and the Kashmiri people.

In the ultimate analysis, however, the success of any India-Pakistan peace process would depend entirely on the freshness of political approach that both sides would be prepared to bring in with sincerity of purpose by taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

To start with, India must come out of its nay bind. Initiation of a political dialogue between the genuine Kashmiri leadership and the Governments of India and Pakistan could set the stage for a democratic and peaceful solution.



But one thing is clear. The task ahead is not going to be easy given the complexity of the matters involved. There will be no quick fixes, nor should we be rushing into hasty decisions on an issue that concerns the future of a people.

Meanwhile, the UN must appoint an eminent person of an international standing like Bishop Desmond Tutu or President Carter or President Mary Robinson as a Special Envoy on Kashmir.

Perhaps, it's also time for the world's all of the living Nobel Peace Laureate to wake up and smell the gunpowder on the streets of IOJK. They must prevent the impending risk of a genocide in the IOJK. The threat of an apocalyptic India-Pakistan conflict is also fraught with a disaster of an unimaginable magnitude and must be averted at all cost.

The world powers, including the United States can, and should, lead the effort to achieve a fair and lasting settlement of the dispute, fair to the people most immediately involved and fair to its own commitments to democracy and human rights.

By doing so, the United States can strengthen the principles of a just Wilsonian world order. It will also earn the gratitude of generations in Kashmir, in Pakistan and even in India itself.

Suggested Framework For India-Pakistan Relations

India and Pakistan need a clearer framework of principles on the basis of which to organize future relations. The people in both countries have suffered for too long as a result of continuing tensions and conflicts and would welcome any new innovative approach that facilitates a solution of the Kashmir issue in keeping with the legitimate interests of India, Pakistan and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

This requires a process of uninterrupted and unintermittable dialogue including regular contact between the political leadership. Even the issue of terrorism can be addressed as a common threat through their existing dialogue mechanism. To begin with, however, India must be persuaded to revisit its present 'no-talk' policy.

Adoption of a short-and long-term approach in addressing the outstanding issues in contrast with efforts in the past to find an immediate solution. Both countries must recognise that peace between them is a strategic imperative. They must renounce the use of force for settlement of their bilateral disputes.

Steady improvement of relations between Pakistan and India requires further changes in the way they deal with each other. India, being the biggest country in South Asia, must lead the way by removing fears and apprehensions among its neighbours. It must abandon its hegemonic designs.

The "composite dialogue" must be resumed to build up trust and confidence and develop mutually-beneficial cooperation. Tangible progress in conflict-resolution should be visible to the people on both sides, particularly on the doables: Sir Creek; Siachen; Wullar Barrage; trade expansion; and visa liberalization.

Mutual cooperation in counterterrorism should be reinforced and the joint anti-terrorism mechanisms be made more effective. Blame game in public must be avoided. Meanwhile progress on implementation of cross LOC CBMs must be ensured.

Also, SAARC be revived and strengthened to make it more effective and result-oriented particularly in areas such as trade, energy, food security, counterterrorism, and environment. Cooperation must be conducted on a level playing field to facilitate removal of restrictive trade barriers.

Depending on progress in building mutual trust and confidence, they could in due course also explore a mutually agreed permanent mechanism for conflict- prevention, conflict-resolution and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Shamshad Ahmad Khan is a former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Ambassador to South Korea, Iran and Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Notes

1. While Memory Serves: Sir Francis Tuker (London, Chassell, 1950) p.257
2. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948, Islamabad, 1989, p. 158.
3. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948, Islamabad, 1989, p. 60
4. Ibid. p. 158
5. Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000; Dennis Kux (OUP New York) p.19
6. Ibid
7. Pakistan's Foreign Policy Dilemma: A Perennial Quest for Survival (In Print); Shamshad Ahmad
8. Strategic Vision— America and the Crisis of Global Power: Zbigniew Brzezinski
9. India and the Balance of Power: C. Raja Mohan; Foreign Affairs Magazine-July-Aug. 2006. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2006-07/india-and-balance-power>.
10. Pakistan's Foreign Policy Dilemma: A Perennial Quest for Survival (In Print); Shamshad Ahmad

SAARC



Future War: What Needs to be Done ?



**Prof. Dr. Tughrul Yamin**

Abstract

In February 2019, Pakistan and India fought a short war that included aerial intrusions across not only the Line of Control (LoC) but also the international border. The Indians claim that they had sent their fighter jets as a 'counter terrorism' strike inside Pakistani territory to target an alleged 'militant' training center. This was in retaliation against the Pulwama attack on February 14, 2019 in which 40 soldiers of the Central Reserve Police Force (CPRF) were blown up by a youth from occupied Kashmir. The Indians blamed Pakistan based Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) for this attack. Pakistan evened the score by shooting down at least one Indian aircraft. This brief activity did not escalate beyond a war of words. The Indian pilot who had ejected inside Pakistani territory was returned as an act of goodwill. Indian PM Narendra Modi used this clash to ratchet up the anti-Pakistan rhetoric to bolster his sagging fortunes and win the national elections with a landslide. The fallout of these events proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the nature of warfare in the crisis prone South Asian region has changed diametrically. Round One went to Pakistan but this will not be the end. The Indians will no doubt spare no effort to undo the embarrassment caused to them. This paper examines the emerging threat from a number of perspectives both military and non-military and offers a sensible solution to avoid further relapses into the crisis mode and offers suggestions for bringing peace and stability in the region.

Keywords: *Future War, Conflict Triggers, Surgical Strikes, Nuclear No First Use, Cyber-Offensive, Crisis Management*



A number of questions have been thrown up after the short military conflagration between Pakistan and India in February 2019, the most pertinent of which is what will be the shape of future wars in the South Asian subcontinent, how a potential crisis may pan out and what will be the best way to manage it. The purpose of this paper is to find out answers to the following questions: What can upset the strategic apple cart in the short and the long term? What tools, tactics and strategies will be used to fight minor skirmishes or a major outbreak of hostilities under a nuclear overhang? What can be the possible means to defuse and manage crises? Are there any chances of conflict resolution between Pakistan and India?

Potential Conflict Triggers in South Asia

In the crisis prone Pak-India relations, there is no shortage of conflict triggers. Most wars that India and Pakistan have fought with each other have been over Kashmir. The first Kashmir War was an impromptu affair after the partition of the subcontinent. The Hindu Dogra Maharaja of a predominantly Muslim dominant principality sought a strategic pause by offering a standstill agreement to both India and Pakistan as he decided the fate of his fiefdom. The atmosphere in Kashmir was on short fuse and a rebellion soon broke out in Poonch and Gilgit Baltistan against the tyrannical rule of the Maharaja. A ragtag band of freedom fighters from the Frontier mounted on dilapidated lorries and carrying primitive weapons moved in to support their Kashmiri co-religionists. The tribesmen had no training in modern means of warfare and were without air cover and artillery support. Even before Nehru's notorious aide Krishna Menon could force the Maharaja to sign a dubious instrument of accession,¹ the Indian Army had rushed in a battalion of the Sikh regiment by air to prevent the liberation of Jammu & Kashmir.² Some areas were indeed liberated as a result of fragmented fighting in which initially the Pakistani Army officers fought, while they were officially on leave.

The 1971 war was shaped by a number of events. After the stalemated 1965 War, the Indians realized that East Pakistan was poorly defended and very much alienated from its western wing on political grounds

After the short border skirmish in the Rann of Kutch in April 1965, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadar Shastri followed through his threat

In the crisis prone Pak India relations, there is no shortage of conflict triggers. Most wars that India and Pakistan have fought with each other have been over Kashmir

to attack Pakistan, at a time and place of his own choosing.³ The military offensive that he had promised came in the wake of the guerrilla infiltration into occupied Jammu Kashmir in August. This initiative was undertaken as part of Operation Gibraltar to liberate the occupied territories. The seventeen day war ended in a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities. The 1966 Tashkent Agreement brokered by the Soviets was meant to resolve outstanding issues including Kashmir. The sudden death of the Indian Prime Minister on the last day of the parleys stymied this initiative towards a meaningful rapprochement.

The 1971 war was shaped by a number of events. After the stalemated 1965 War, the Indians realized that East Pakistan was poorly defended and very much alienated from its western wing on political grounds. The Indian leadership made a long term plan to play upon this vulnerability of a state that was physically divided and separated by a thousand miles of hostile territory. The Indian Army General Manekshaw cautioned the government against any hasty steps. He recommended a military offensive after the monsoons had ended and the rivers were no longer in spate.⁴ The interregnum was to be occupied by a prolonged civil war to weaken Pakistani forces deployed in East Pakistan. In the guise of humanitarian aid, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi let in Bengali refugees and from among them raised and equipped Mukti Bahini (Freedom Fighters) to fight Pakistan Army in a long drawn civil war.⁵ Meanwhile, she travelled the world to advocate the cause of an independent





Bangladesh and secure her diplomatic front by securing a twenty year friendship treaty with the USSR.⁶ The fall of East Pakistan was the result of a well-planned diplomatic and military offensive and a sympathetic local population.

In 1984 India surreptitiously occupied the vacant area north of NJ 9842 in the Siachin Glacier. It was largely reminiscent of the Indian forward policy in NEFA in 1962. Many analysts have considered Siachin as an easily resolvable issue or a low hanging fruit that is ready to be plucked but it has fallen prey to Indian obduracy.⁷ Siachin also indicates the inflexibility of the Indians to negotiate on any bilateral issue, particularly when it concerns Kashmir.

After the introduction of the nuclear deterrent in 1998, an element of strategic stability was introduced into the tense and turbulent Pak India relations. Deterrence did not break down, despite a military skirmish in the glacial heights of Kargil in 1999. Senior Indian generals ignored intelligence warnings of Guerrilla infiltration at their own peril and by the time they woke up, they had lost about 200 square km of territory.⁸ Belated counter attacks were launched all along the areas of the infiltration. Air and artillery were thrown in.⁹ Due to the nuclear deterrence, the hostilities remained confined to the area of operation and both countries continued to operate below the perceived nuclear threshold. The hostilities ceased after the US intervention was sought. After July 4 meeting with President Clinton, the terms of withdrawal and ceasefire were defined. Clinton clearly told Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to respect the sanctity of the LoC in future.¹⁰

In 2001, the Indian leadership found an opportunity to mobilize and concentrate its forces along the international border for an extended period of ten months in a bid to coerce and browbeat Pakistan.¹¹ The cause for this aggressive posture was an attack on the Indian parliament on



T-72 tanks of the Indian Army photographed near Pathankot in 2001

13 December 2001, allegedly by Pakistan backed militants. There was a feeling within the Indian camp that they could repeat the US formula of

Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) was meant to cut long and tedious processes of mobilization to launch shallow maneuvers short of the perceived nuclear thresholds

attacking Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks to defeat and destroy Al Qaeda and their hosts – the Taliban Government in Afghanistan. The Indians expected international approval of their actions and a condemnation of Pakistan's alleged sponsorship of an act of terror given the new international frenzy against terrorism.

After this episode, India threatened Pakistan with war in case of any terrorist sponsored attack from its territory. This kind of thinking led to the policy planners in the South Block to come up with a pro-active doctrine (PAD), more popularly known as the Cold Start Doctrine (CSD). This was meant to cut long and tedious processes of mobilization to launch shallow maneuvers short of the perceived nuclear thresholds. This strategic thought became fashionable in the post the 2001-02 standoff period. The Indians received a tacit approval from their new strategic partners the US in this approach. The US made it clear that it would allow India to retaliate in case of a major terrorist attack, if it was with Pakistani involvement. However, the Indian reaction after the November





7, 2008 attack against the Indian commercial hub of Mumbai did not translate into a conventional air and land offensive. A group of raiders on a rubber dinghy had entered and held a major Indian city hostage for two days. About 200 people had been killed including American tourists but apart from an escalation of fiery rhetoric, deterrence held. CSD was not operationalized.

This remained the pattern after a series of attacks against Indian military establishments in occupied Jammu and Kashmir until the Indians came up with what their Army Chief called surgical strikes. A series of probing attacks along the Line of Control (LoC) were successfully repulsed. The much trumpeted surgical strikes did not penetrate deep into Azad Kashmir to interdict the so-called terrorist launch pads or bases.¹²

As long as there is the unresolved issue of IOJK there will be plenty of triggers to cause another crisis in the future

In the early morning hours of 14 February 2019, Adil Ahmed Dar, a Kashmiri youth, who had been beaten by security forces blew up his explosive laden vehicle against a bus carrying Central Police Reserve Force (CPRF), killing 40 of them. A group claiming itself to be Pakistan based Jaish-i-Muhammad (JeM) claimed responsibility. India took this as another opportunity for a strike back. After waiting for a fortnight the Indian Air Force (IAF) launched a so-called 'counter terrorism' strike on the tiny hamlet of Jabba in the Balakot district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province against an alleged terrorist training center. It was a botched operation. The IAF dropped their payloads in a great deal of hurry bringing a few trees down. The next day Pakistani fighter jets first bombed ground targets as a warning and later shot down two Indian aircraft. One of the pilots, Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman was captured after he ejected and landed on the Pakistani side. The pilot was later returned to India as a goodwill measure to defuse tensions.

In the Pak-India context this latest incident is not going to be the end of possible military engagements. As long as there is the unresolved issue of IOJK there will be plenty of triggers to cause another crisis in the future.



Probable Tools, Tactics and Strategies for a Future War in the Backdrop of a Nuclear Overhang

Wars in 1965 and 1971 were conventional wars fought in the classical Second World War mode. The battles fought were tactical in nature and large infantry and armored maneuvers took place in textbook fashion. This form of warfare had been taught to the post-independence crop of leadership in Pakistani and Indian Staff and War Colleges. The commanders at all levels were also under the influence of the military campaigns of the two world wars that had been part of their military history syllabus in their military academies and basic arms schools and formed part of their promotion examination syllabus.

Things changed drastically after the introduction of nuclear weapons in South Asia in 1998 and brought about a paradigm shift in strategic thinking. The emphasis was now on deterrence and how to prevent wars from taking place. Senior officials openly indulged in nuclear signaling during the Kargil clash.¹³ This was by no means the first time that nuclear signaling had been resorted too. It is a well recorded incident that Pakistani Dr. AQ Khan had told the Indian journalist Kuldip Nayyar that his country could use nuclear weapons. This warning was given in the backdrop of aggressive posturing by Indian military forces during the Brasstacks exercise in 1987. These major military drills were held to validate the strategic thinking of Indian Army Chief Gen. K Sunderji. But he was wrong footed by counter positioning of Pakistani forces in the North and slick cricket diplomacy by Gen Zia. Dr. AQ Khan's somber warning that Pakistan could go for the nuclear option added to Pakistan's deterrence package.¹⁴

Things changed drastically after the introduction of nuclear weapons in South Asia in 1998 and brought about a paradigm shift in strategic thinking. The emphasis was now on deterrence and how to prevent wars from taking place



The Abhinandan affair was an embarrassment for the Indians and they tried to make amends by desperately trying to present him as a war hero to the domestic audience. The fact remains that he was bested by his Pakistani counterparts and round One clearly belonged to the PAF pilots

In 2001-2002 the Indians massed their forces along the international border in a massive exercise of brinkmanship. The Indians expected the Pakistanis to wilt under pressure and then force them to accept demands such as a settlement of Kashmir issue on their terms. The Twin Peak crisis saw intense nuclear signaling as each side wanted to maintain a modicum of escalation dominance. The crisis was defused after multinational corporations (MNCs) threatened to pull out of India because of a possibility of a nuclear showdown in July 2002.

After the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, it was expected that India would retaliate militarily by operationalizing its much trumpeted CSD. During this crisis, an important commercial hub was held hostage for nearly 48 hours and 48 people had been killed. Still Indian leadership prevaricated. They were still not ready take the risk of starting a nuclear war. Cold reasoning and calculations prevented the Indians from running a nuclear risk. Any misadventure across the international border or the LoC was sure to invite a response that could have easily led up to an exchange of nuclear weapons. There were

more attacks on Indian military installations in Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Uri. Indian military pondered how to retaliate.¹⁵ Indian Army Chief came up with the idea of surgical strikes. The idea was to hit targets in Azad Kashmir and to teach Pakistan a lesson. India had already started investing in their special forces in a big way and any meaningful use of airborne troops could have been a bold venture. Keeping disputed territory as the theater of operation would have meant that they were technically not touching the nuclear redlines. But caution again prevented the Indian Army from striking deep inside hostile territory. Perhaps they weren't willing to accept their soldiers being killed and captured far away from home base without any reasonable chance of extricating them. As a result the so-called surgical strikes remained mere pinpricks and were confidently repulsed. In these kinds of low intensity engagements there was no recourse to nuclear signaling.

Then came Pulwama and Indian leaders decided to play bold without invoking the N word. Aircrafts were sent into Pakistani territory to take out an alleged 'terrorist' training center in district Balakot in Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa province. The target was not located in Azad Kashmir but it was a botched operation. IAF jets literally jettisoned their Israeli supplied smart spice bombs which went awry as the Indians made good their escape.¹⁶ The Pakistani response was professional and well conducted. The Abhinandan affair was an embarrassment for the Indians and they tried to make amends by desperately trying to present him as a war hero to the domestic audience. The fact remains that he was bested by his Pakistani counterparts and round One clearly belonged to the PAF pilots.



Wing Commander Abhinandan handed over to Indian Authorities by Dr Fareeha Bugti, MoFA Pakistan (Wagah Border)



For sure this not going to be the last military engagement of its kind. So far following patterns have emerged in an India-Pakistan conflict: A. Large scale military forces have been used in classical maneuver warfare (1965 and 1971 Wars). This form of military engagement may never take place again. B. Nuclear signaling has been done intensely during times of acute crises (most notably during the Twin Peak Crisis of 2002). Both Pakistan and India are learning this art of scaring each other and its future use will be more nuanced. C. India has tried the surgical strike with little success (The Indian Army Chief claimed that his Army had carried out surgical strikes along the LoC in 2016). There is little likelihood that this form of military intervention would be done at a splendid or grand level. D. Aerial incursions of 2019 did not yield any military results, apart from the fact that it helped Modi win the elections. What then could a future battlefield look like?

It is quite evident that India wants to isolate Pakistan diplomatically. It is already doing that by maligning it as an irresponsible state that sponsors terrorism. It is aggravating Pakistan's weak economic position by pressurizing it through forums like the Asia Pacific Group (APG) of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). On the military front it is spending heavily in acquiring weapons systems like the Russian US \$ 5 billion S400 Air Defense system despite risking sanctions under the Countering American Adversaries through Sanctions Act (CAATSA). After the poor performance of the Mig 21 Bison of the IAF on 27 February, the Indian prime minister is aggressively making a case of buying French Rafael aircraft.¹⁷ His home minister Rajnath Singh backed him up by saying that had India had the Rafael aircraft, they needn't go inside Pakistani airspace.¹⁸ Singh is now the defense minister and is likely to expedite the case of inducting the Rafael jet fighters.

India is also trying to make a more aggressive nuclear policy viz Pakistan by officially giving up its nuclear No First Use (NFU) stance

India is improving and enhancing its seaborne capabilities. It is currently repairing its accident prone nuclear powered and armed INS Arihant,¹⁹ and has signed a US \$ 3 billion deal to lease a third Akula I class from Russia.²⁰ The aim is to strengthen the third leg of the nuclear triad. It is putting a number of command and control and surveillance satellites; procuring advanced drones, building its stealth technology and cyber-warfare. It is also trying to make a more aggressive nuclear policy viz Pakistan by officially giving up its nuclear no first use (NFU) stance.²¹

By all indications, the next war will be hybrid in nature. Grounds will be prepared for diminishing the morale of the nation before delivering a coup de grâce. Towards this end, an all-out propaganda campaign will be launched to discredit Pakistan internationally. Doubts will be sown in the minds

In Pakistan India case, third party mediation or arbitration has been the norm. When the first Kashmir War broke out, it was India that took the issue to the UN for the resolution of the conflict

of the people to shake their faith in the state and its leadership through a torrent of fake news spread on social media. Fifth columnists will be infiltrated to pollute the minds of the disaffected people particularly the youth. Offensive cyber-warfare tools will be used to hack into computer networks to siphon off data and to disable the command and control systems. This can be followed by a major incursion across the LoC. The aim would be to settle the Kashmir issue on India's terms. Nuclear first use can be made to pre-empt the use of battlefield nuclear missiles such as Nasr.

Managing Crises

A crisis follows a certain trajectory that can sometimes be predicted based on past experiences but sometimes it can chart unknown and erratic path. Good crisis managers constantly wargame possible scenarios during peacetime and are prepared to handle the emerging situation when the chips are down. In a slow burn situation, there are several rungs to climb before the crisis becomes full blown and slips out of control. During rapid escalation, it may just be a single stride that can take countries to war. In Pakistan India case, third



India has signed \$3 billion deal with Russia for lease of a third Akula I Class Submarine



US role in managing India-Pakistan crises has been more prominent after the two countries became nuclear powers. The personal intervention of US President in defusing Kargil Crisis is quite well documented

party mediation or arbitration has been the norm. When the first Kashmir War broke out, it was India that took the issue to the UN for the resolution of the conflict.²² There was intensive diplomatic activity by the UN officials in the 1950s to broker a deal and to organize a referendum to determine the choice of the Kashmiris. Unfortunately these efforts came to naught because of Indian intransigence.

Another third party intervention took place, when British Prime Minister Harold Wilson persuaded Pakistan and India to go for international arbitration after the Rann of Kutch incident in 1965. A mutually agreed international tribunal was established to resolve the border issue. A verdict was reached in 1968, as a result of which Pakistan got 10 per cent and India 90 per cent of the territory.²³

The 1965 and 1971 Wars were also brought to an end through UN good offices. After the 1965 War, the Soviet Union played the honest broker and brought Pakistani and Indian leadership to the negotiating table in a bid to resolve the conflict.²⁴ After the 1971 War, Pakistan and India met bilaterally at hill resort of Simla near Delhi to sort out their problems. As a result the Pakistani prisoners of war were released and the Ceasefire Line was renamed LoC. India claims that after the Agreement the Kashmir issue has become bilateral. Pakistan believes that this not the case and the relevant UN resolutions still remain valid.²⁵ At the moment India is not willing to engage in negotiations bilaterally.

The US has intervened on several occasion to mediate between India and Pakistan to defuse tensions. The role of US has been on more than one occasion, be that of firefighting and not resolving the contentious issue of Kashmir. The US role in managing India-Pakistan crises has been more prominent after the two countries became nuclear powers. The personal intervention of the US President in defusing the Kargil Crisis is quite well documented.²⁶ In 1962, American President John F. Kennedy had prevailed upon President Ayub Khan not to exploit the situation, when India was weak and vulnerable during their high altitude war with China.²⁷

India continues to use artillery barrages to hit bordering villages along the LoC and stoking the separatist fires in Balochistan

After Pulwama, the angry rhetoric on both sides reached a crescendo. The suicide attack was claimed by Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), which the Indians emphasized was an organization based in Pakistan. Officially Pakistan condemned the attack and rejected that it was in any way involved in it.²⁸ The incident was also condemned by the UN Security Council but it rebuffed Indian attempts to implicate Pakistan.²⁹ Thereafter, India waited two weeks before launching a so-called



‘counter terrorism’ strike. The bombing mission to the mountain hamlet of Jabba to hit a small seminary dubbed a terrorist training ground was a botched and hurried affair. The missiles failed to hit the targets. Pakistanis responded by striking in the vicinity of six high value military targets. Subsequently two Indian aircraft were shot down. One pilot was captured alive. The world suddenly woke up to the potential of war in one of the most heavily populated regions of the world. Pakistan downplayed the incident by releasing the captured pilot and braced for a war. For some weeks the situation remained tense before dust settled and India went for polls. Modi’s act tough policy against Pakistan was successful as he won by a landslide. His antics it seems were more geared towards the domestic audience than teaching Pakistan a lesson. In a hair trigger situation such as it exists in Pakistan, a repeat incidence is possible. After all India continues to use artillery barrages to hit bordering villages along the LoC and stoking the separatist fires in Balochistan.

Needless to say, Pakistan cannot afford to let its guards down and also it needs to keep friendly nations in the loop. Contingency military and diplomatic plans must be updated for any eventuality.



Resolving the Kashmir Issue

Pakistan and India cannot remain in a no war and no peace situation forever. The bone of contention is Kashmir and it is more important for Pakistan than India to resolve this issue. Proper planning for conflict resolution of a complex and convoluted issue such as Kashmir needs proper planning. A well thought out plan based on diligent homework is a must. At the moment there seems to be an absence of a cogent Kashmir policy at the official level. Important questions need to be answered in this regard such as: What should be the status of Kashmir in the future, keeping in mind the aspirations of the Kashmiris? How can the daily human rights abuses be stopped in the occupied Valley? And how can we reduce the cost of security, when the threat hasn't receded one bit?

An out of the box solution may ease the pain for the Kashmiris and reduce tensions in the area. Gen Musharraf during his time as the President had come up with a four point formula that according to some commentators including his foreign minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri had a reasonable chance of success. This formula had encouraged Pakistan and India to move away from their stated positions and come up with a compromise solution allowing the Kashmiris some kind of limited autonomy.³⁰ Like many other good intentions, this proposal also did not come to fruition.

There was a glimmer of hope during Prime Minister Imran Khan's July visit to the US, President Trump offered to mediate or arbitrate in Kashmir – to resolve the issue that had marred the relations between the two South Asian neighbors for seventy years. Trump went on to say that Modi also wanted him to arbitrate and meditate on Kashmir. In a hurried tweet official spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dismissed Trump's assertion that Modi had invited him to mediate on Kashmir.³¹ The foreign minister S. Jaishankar reiterated that India's stated position on Kashmir remained unchanged and that this did not include

Musharraf formula had encouraged Pakistan and India to move away from their stated positions and come up with a compromise solution allowing the Kashmiris some kind of limited autonomy

any third party mediation or arbitration.³² After India protested to the US State Department, the Americans agreed that it was indeed a bilateral issue.³³ But Trump's chief economic advisor Larry Kudlow insisted that the US President hadn't made up the story of Modi asking for his help. A week later Trump renewed his offer for arbitration/mediation on Kashmir.

Hopes, however little, were quashed, when Modi Government announced repealing the special status given to IOJK under Article 370 and 35-A of the Indian constitution on 6 August 2019.³⁴ Even, if for argument sake, it is accepted that Modi actually wanted Trump to help on Kashmir, one isn't sure what kind of verdict he would have pushed for mediate or arbitrate on Kashmir. It is interesting to note that after the Indian Government made known their fait accompli on Kashmir, PM Khan spoke to President of Turkey and the PM of Malaysia to seek their support. He didn't call the Oval Office.

In any case if Pakistan really wants to resolve the Kashmir issue, it must make a strong case and prepare well. International arbitration can go either way, and Pakistan's track record in winning cases or getting a favorable decision is not a good one.

Conclusion

For most of their existence as sovereign states, Pakistan and India have remained locked in mortal combat. Given the environment of suspicion and distrust, there is always the possibility that the slightest spark can ignite a major war. Smallest provocation can be caused by a sudden spurt of enhanced artillery bombardment across the LoC, aerial or ground hot pursuits including so-called surgical strikes against alleged terrorist bases, or worst case scenario a physical invasion within the framework of CSD by making shallow maneuvers inside Pakistani territory in response to alleged terrorist activity etc. Whatever may be the causus

Whatever may be the causus belli, once a crisis starts building up it will be upto to the two countries to defuse tensions, because third party intervention is not always guaranteed



belli, once a crisis starts building up it will be upto to the two countries to defuse tensions because third party intervention is not always guaranteed.

Future war will most likely involve a lot of propaganda and mind games. Psy Ops themes will be propagated on the social and mainstream media to lower the nation's morale. Fifth columnist and secessionists will work against the unity of the state. Real war would only come if there is a need for that. Surgical strikes, air strikes and offensive by Integrated Battle Groups deployed along the border can take place simultaneously, in concert with a sea blockade. Cyber-attacks will form an essential part of the attack package. Pakistan can let down its guard but it also cannot ignore the fundamental question of butter versus guns.

War for this poverty ridden region is not an

In my calculation, if a war takes place it will not take place immediately. Grounds will be prepared to break the nation internally through incessant propaganda, international isolation and by preventing real chances of economic growth

option. Sincere efforts are needed for conflict prevention. This can only be done, if both countries agree to talk. India for its own reasons is reluctant to engage Pakistan in any form of dialogue. Even if Pakistan accepts India's contention that the Kashmir issue should be resolved bilaterally, a beginning has been made. This is important because this is the only way to reduce the cost of security. For Pakistan it is of salience that it spares no effort in bringing India to the negotiating table. Perhaps a friendly nudge from big powers will help.

An environment fraught with possibility of war should be transformed into one of peace and stability, where foreign and local investors feel at ease in investing money and doing business. To bring internal stability, Pakistan should spend money on development, particularly on its burgeoning human resource. The country has an increasingly young population, if proper investment is made on them, it would be able to boast a finished product that can be recognized for their intellectual merits instead of the virulent ideologies that some of them may subscribe to.

To prevent a war and create credible deterrence, the Government needs to invest in its people. Only a strong nation can deter a foreign attack or internal dissent. To do so there is a need to declare emergency in the following areas: basic education, population planning and health, rule of law, energy, food and water security and economy.

An exploding population with food shortages and scarcity of water can be a recipe for disaster. No wars can be fought on empty stomachs

The economy must be improved or nobody is going to take us seriously. Taking loans to retire old debts can become a vicious cycle. We must learn to stand on our own two feet. We must never again go to any lending agency, whether it be the IMF or friends in the rich Arab countries. Loan is a curse that should be shunned. Loans now taken must be expeditiously repaid.

Population must be controlled and it should be provided two square meals a day so that children are neither malnourished nor impaired by stunted growth. According to a UNICEF report on children 3.4 million children in the country suffer from wasting. Wasting rates are as high as 15 per cent with 6 per cent suffering from 'severe wasting', well above international emergency thresholds.³⁵ Population is a ticking bomb and if it isn't controlled, it will double by 2047 and the growth is going to outstrip any meaningful development gains.³⁶ An exploding population with food shortages and scarcity of water can be a recipe for disaster. No wars can be fought on empty stomachs.

In my calculation, if a war takes place it will not take place immediately. Grounds will be prepared to break the nation internally through incessant propaganda, international isolation and by preventing real chances of economic growth. With purse strings in the hands of the IMF and sundry donors, Pakistan is on a particularly tricky



A Large segment of Indian population lives under extreme poverty



wicket. The sooner it gets off this dubious life support system, the better it would be. National sovereignty is only possible, if the country is free of fickle donors and their severe conditionalities.

It is easy to defeat an impoverished, illiterate and hungry country and the grounds for that are already being prepared. Once the internal vulnerability becomes greater than the existing security apparatus, it will be easy to strike. The example of East Pakistan is before us. The Indians were able to exploit internal differences to create hatred against the West Pakistan. They struck when the iron was hot. There can be an East Pakistan redux, if the poor and disenfranchised segments of the society lose faith in the state.

Prof Dr Tughrul Yamin retired as Brigadier from Pakistan Army. He is currently Associate Dean at Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad

Notes

1. Alistair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy: 1846-1990* (Karachi: OUP, 1991), 135-136.
2. Col Bhaskar Sarkar, Defence of Srinagar 1947, *Indian Defence Review*, March 13, 2016, <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/interviews/defence-of-srinagar-1947/> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
3. Maleeha Hamid Siddiqui, "Ramifications of 1965 War," *Dawn*, September 11, 2015, https://epaper.dawn.com/DetailImage.php?StoryImage=11_09_2015_118_006 (Accessed July 30, 2019).
4. "When 'Sam Bahadur' confronted Indira Gandhi," *Outlook*, June 27, 2008, <https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/story/when-sam-bahadur-confronted-indira-gandhi/583907> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
5. Navine Murshid, "India's Role in Bangladesh War of Independence: Humanitarian or Self Interest?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 52 (DECEMBER 24, 2011): 53-60.
6. Arun Mohanti, "Toasting Legacy of 1971 Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty," *Russia Beyond*, August 9, 2011, https://www.rbth.com/articles/2011/08/09/toasting_legacy_of_1971_indo-soviet_friendship_treaty_12842 (Accessed July 29, 2019).
7. "Obstinacy over Siachen," *Dawn*, February 28, 2016, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1242372> (Accessed July 31, 2019).
8. Rahul Bedi, "Kargil Report: More Questions Raised than Answered," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 17 (Apr. 22-28, 2000): 1429-1431.
9. Manoj Joshi, "Kargil War: Heavily armed Pakistan-backed intruders destroy Indo-Pak peace process," <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/india-to-day-archives/story/19990607-kargil-war-heavily-armed-pakistan-backed-intruders-destroy-indo-pak-peace-process-781031-1999-11-30> (Accessed July 30, 2019).
10. Bruce Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*, Center of the Advance Studies of India, U Pen, 4, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.473.251&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (Accessed July 22, 2019).
11. P.R. Chari, P.I. Cheema and Stephen P. Cohen, *Four Crisis and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia* (Brookings, 2007), 149-183.
12. "Lt General Bipin Rawat: Master of Surgical Strikes," *The Economic Times*, July 14, 2018, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/lt-general-bipin-rawat-master-of-surgical-strikes/articleshow/56054559.cms?from=mdr> (Accessed July 30, 2019).
13. Usman Ghani, "Nuclear Weapons in India Pakistan Crisis," *IPRI Journal* Vol. XII (2012): 141-142, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Usman_Ghani55/publication/329814931_Nuclear_Weapons_India_Pakistan_Crisis/links/5c1c0099458515a4c7eda853/Nuclear-Weapons-India-Pakistan-Crisis.pdf (accessed July 10, 2019).
14. Kuldip Nayyar, *Beyond the Lines: An Autobiography* (Roli Books, 2012), 304-309.
15. Siegfried O. Wolf, "Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Uri – What Next," *SSOAR*, 2016, <https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/handle/document/48613> (accessed July 10, 2019).
16. Dev Goswamy, "SPICE-2000: Know all about the smart bomb Indian Air Force used for Balakot airstrike," *India Today*, March 5, 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/spice-2000-indian-air-force-balakot-airstrike-mirage-jets-1470988-2019-03-05> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
17. Vaibhav Tiwari, "India Missing Rafale Now, Says PM Modi; Rahul Gandhi Retorts," *NDTV*, March 3, 2019, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/india-missing-rafale-now-says-pm-modi-rahul-gandhi-retorts-2001788> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
18. "If we had Rafael jets, we need not have entered Pakistan to attack them, claims Rajnath Singh," *India Today*, March 24, 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/elections/lok-sabha-2019/story/rajnath-singh-rafale-fighter-jets-1485473-2019-03-24> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
19. "India Did Major Damage to a new \$3 Billion Submarine by Leaving a Hatch Open," *National Interest*, April 13, 2019, <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/india-did-major-damage-new-3-billion-submarine-leaving-hatch-open-522920> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
20. India and Russia sign \$3 billion nuclear submarine lease agreement, *The Defense Post*, March 8, 2019, <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/03/08/india-russia-3-billion-akula-submarine-lease/> (Accessed July 29, 2019).
21. Christopher Clarey & Vipin Narang, "India's Counterforce Temptations: Strategic Dilemmas, Doctrines, and Capabilities," *International Security*, Winter 2018/19, Vol. 43, No 3: 7-52.
22. UN Security Council Resolution 47 is available at <http://unsr.com/en/resolutions/47> (Accessed July 22, 2019).
23. Reports of International Arbitral awards, The Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary (Rann of Kutch) between India and Pakistan (India, Pakistan), VOLUME XVII (19 February 1968): 1-576, http://legal.un.org/riaa/cases/vol_XVII/1-576.pdf (Accessed July 22, 2019).
24. Letter dated 24 March 1966 from the Permanent Representative of India addressed to the President of the Security Council, *UN Digital Library*, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/525864/files/S_7221-EN.pdf?version=1 (Accessed July 22, 2019).
25. Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Bilateral Relations (Simla Agreement), <https://peacemaker.un.org/indiapakistan-simlaagreement72> (Accessed July 22, 2019).
26. Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*. Philadelphia: Centre for the Advanced Study of India, 2002.
27. Bruce Riedel, *JFK's Forgotten Crisis: Tibet, the CIA and the Sino-Indian War*, New York: Westchester Publishing Services, 2015, 102.
28. "Islamabad condemns Pulwama attack, rejects charge that Pakistan is involved," *Business Standard*, February 15, 2019, https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/pak-rejects-india-s-charge-on-pulwama-terrorist-attack-119021500254_1.html (Accessed July 29, 2019).
29. "UNSC condemns Pulwama attack, rebuffs India's efforts to implicate Pakistan," *Pakistan Today*, February 22, 2019, <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2019/02/22/unscondemns-pulwama-attack-rebuffs-indias-efforts-to-implicate-pakistan/> (Accessed July 22, 2019).
30. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, *Neither a Hawk nor a Dove*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015). 129.
31. "India Denies Asking Trump to Mediate on Kashmir During Pakistani Prime Minister's Washington Visit," *Gandhara*, July 23, 2019, <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/india-denies-asking-trump-to-mediate-on-kashmir-during-pakistani-prime-minister-s-washington-visit/30070600.html> (Accessed July 25, 2019).
32. Bharti Jain, "PM Modi made no such request, says S Jaishankar on Trump's Kashmir remarks," *TNN*, July 23, 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/pm-modi-made-no-such-request-says-s-jaishankar-on-trumps-kashmir-remarks/articleshow/70342029.cms> (Accessed July 31, 2019).
33. Geeta Mohan, "India lodges protest over Trump's Kashmir mediation comment on PM Modi, US clarifies it is a bilateral issue," *India Today*, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/donald-trump-kashmir-mediation-comment-india-lodges-protest-1572440-2019-07-23> (Accessed July 25, 2019).
34. Manavi Kapur, "History Reversed: The Narendra Modi government scraps Kashmir's special status under Indian constitution," *Quartz India*, August 6, 2019, <https://qz.com/india/1681325/india-scraps-article-370-that-gives-special-status-to-kashmir/> (Accessed August 7, 2019).
35. Status of Children in Pakistan, *UNICEF Report 2017*, 53, <https://www.unicef.org/pakistan/media/596/file/Situation%20Analysis%20of%20Children%20in%20Pakistan.pdf> (Accessed July 31, 2019).
36. Ikram Junaidi, "New report says growing population likely to outstrip developmental gains," *Dawn*, October 18, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1439690/new-report-says-growing-population-likely-to-outstrip-developmental-gains> (Accessed July 26, 2019).

CROSS-DOMAIN DETERRENCE

THE PULWAMA ATTACK: LIMITED WAR & NUCLEAR IMPLICATIONS

REESTABLISHING DETERRENCE & HIGH ORDER WAR



Dr Maria Sultan



When he has penetrated into hostile territory, but to great distance, it is facile ground

(Sun Tzu)

Abstract

“Cross Domain Deterrence” requires that the effects generated through one domain are translated in other domains. These effects generated in various domains such as information, economics, politics and diplomatic should equate the weapons effect - nuclear, conventional, space, cyber, missile defense, chemical and biological etc on the overall strategic space of military action by Pakistan. It also revolves around the key ability of making retaliatory threats from one domain to prevent attacks from another. The use of this strategy by India was primarily to mute Pakistan’s military response in the case of framework issues such as Kashmir, which in New Delhi’s opinion has restricted the military choices for them and also created a strait jacket that according to New Delhi required a new military strategy aided by the use of cross domain approach for military effectiveness. The thrust of Cross Domain Deterrence operations is based on technique to devise it in a manner so that the conflict is prevented to spill into the domain of an all-out India Pakistan war. The induction of new technologies, force modernization and new doctrinal demands pressed the Indian defence planners to construct new employment strategy vis-à-vis military offensive keeping in view the nuclear environment. In their view, the nuclear deterrence had minimized the space for India to use its superior conventional asymmetry vis-à-vis Pakistan or enhance the battle space to achieve its political aims through military means. So, the Indian military strategist have come up with a strategy to circumvent an all-out nuclear war and subsequently counter Pakistan. The use of Cross Domain Deterrence became crucial for India for achieving its objectives. The attempt to create space of limited war, through Pulwama Attack, involved military, economic, diplomatic and nuclear components whereby the flawed execution and miscalculation of retaliation on part of India accounted for the transformation of overall security dynamics of South Asia.

Keywords: Act of War, Cross Domain Deterrence, Pulwama Attack, Conventional, Asymmetry, Limited War, Kashmir, High Order War



War and the art of war, is the ability of the strategic planners of a state to meet the desired objectives through the path of least resistance within minimum time. This however, is affected by the adversary's plans, military doctrines and the will to fight back; aided by technology, numbers and intelligence. It is a sum total of the legal space created for the armed forces domestically and internationally that determines the use of force in the battlefield versus the adversary points of application. This determines use of force during the war; which will expand and restrict the battlefields on which the entire spectrum of the war effort is employed.

An understanding less than that would amount to disastrous consequences, particularly in a nuclear environment.

War and the threat of war is a serious business, which can neither be left to conjecture and wishful thinking nor mere imagination. Every move made by the adversary requires inquiry and a thorough investigation; for any miscalculation in the intent, space of the warzone and direction of the response can be disastrous in the event of an outbreak of war, whether considered local or limited, especially in the nuclearized context, where the threat of a conventional war remains in the realm of the possible.

Traditionally, India and Pakistan have engaged in aggressive actions or measures that have remained short of a direct war to achieve their national objectives.¹ This has been the dominant strategy for almost four decades, where an all-out major war has not broken out between the two nuclear-armed adversaries, despite numerous military crises.

Since, May 1998 nuclear deterrence has remained the predominant factor of strategic

The aim of the Indian strategy is to stunt the Pakistan military options especially the nuclear offensive capability in the wake of military conflict

stability between the two protagonists. The reliance on nuclear deterrence as a factor of stability created a challenge for the conventionally larger Indian military to start a high order war without invoking the nuclear thresholds.

The aim of the Indian strategy is to stunt Pakistan's military options especially its nuclear offensive capability in the wake of a military conflict. To create a response dilemma for the military and strategic planners in Islamabad against the use of carrying out effective military strikes; could lead to inadvertent escalation in the military domains. In addition, the Land Warfare Doctrine (LWD) of India emphasizes the use of information domain to create conditions in other domains that would impact the military domains in the same manner as war.

To pursue this objective New Delhi required that effects were generated in various domains such as information, economics, politics and diplomatic which are equal to that of weapons effect - nuclear, conventional, space, cyber, missile defense, chemical biological etc on the overall strategic space of military action by Pakistan. This use of strategy is called "Cross Domain Deterrence" and it revolves around the key ability of making, "retaliatory threats from one domain to prevent attacks from another".²

The non-military domains are usually in legal, economic, diplomatic, and political; the aim is inter-alia to create pressure in various domains by creating issues whose effects manifest in the same manner on the state as that of the use of military on the state, if war as an instrument of policy is to be used.

The conventional military deterrence equation perpetuated by the Pakistani armed forces supplemented by the military efficacy of the force created a challenge for the Indian force commanders as during each subsequent military crises, in particular 2001-2002, the Indian military planners could not offset the mobilization differential of the Pakistani military capabilities or the deterrent effects of the nuclear capability.

The use of this strategy was primarily, to mute Pakistan's military response in the case of framework issues such as Kashmir, which in New Delhi's opinion has restricted the military choices for them and also created a strait jacket that according to New Delhi required a new military





Nuclear deterrence had minimized the space for India to use its superior conventional asymmetry vis-à-vis Pakistan or enhance the battle space to achieve its political aims through military means

strategy aided by the use of cross domain approach for military effectiveness.

The Indian strategy is shaped by the challenge of the military response by Islamabad, which could alter or restrict choices for New Delhi on ground not only in Kashmir but also scaling the operation in IOJK as a counter insurgency operation with the offset of a limited war between India and Pakistan under a nuclear environment.

This is exacerbated by the inadequacy of the Indian armed forces to modernize as well as to create command coherence for a large scale operation vis-a-vis Pakistan in a short period of time.

The thrust remaining that the operation may be devised in a manner to stop the fall out of the conflict escalating into an India Pakistan all-out war. Particularly, the induction of the new technologies and various doctrinal demands added pressure on the Indian defense planners, to create a new employment strategy for a military offensive in a nuclear environment. The challenge of retarding the military fall out of a militarily responsive Islamabad, although remained static.

The mobilization differential and the existence of the conventional deterrence between the two has added to the military challenge for the planners in New Delhi, to create the space for limited war or create a high order war between the two states with measures to keep it short of a war. In order, to operationalize this strategy with multiple domains being in play, it is important to understand how deterrence is used to create the necessary effects on the choice of an adversary's behavior.

To fill the doctrinal challenge India has repositioned its military strategy on the parameters of a new war-highlighting concept of the Cold Start Doctrine (CSD), later defined as Pro Active Operations (PAO) in pursuit of fighting a limited war with Pakistan.

Introduced as war-fighting concept as early as 2004, according to the Indian military planners the CSD is aimed to shift the Indian military posture from deterrence towards compellence. "The nuclear capability and conventional military superiority influenced India to move beyond deterrence to a strategy of compellence".³ However, in order to create the necessary effects it was necessary that the posture and force goals changed to the use of

creating cross-domain deterrence in support of the military strategy on ground.

According to New Delhi, the CSD has helped to counter the 'stability instability paradox' i.e. to stop the Pakistan's allegedly proxy elements to spur freedom struggle in the IOJK, while constraining India's conventional superiority through a nuclear deterrent.⁴

In their view, the nuclear deterrence had minimized the space for India to use its superior conventional asymmetry vis-à-vis Pakistan or enhance the battle space to achieve its political aims through military means. Furthermore, the mobilization differential between Pakistani armed forces and India could not be bridged with the classic conventional military mobilization principles used by New Delhi, it required a rethink on how an offensive could be launched against Pakistan, while at the same time not to offset the effect of the nuclear deterrence and to create compellence in other domains.

Moreover, India sought to develop the 'active defense' measures such as introduction of theatre missile defenses, military reconnaissance satellites, and precision-guided munitions, to minimize the projected threat from Islamabad. From 2001-2002, to Uri incident and then ultimately Pulwama, New Delhi shaped its military strategy around the use of "punitive strikes", aided by New Delhi's, newly found diplomatic influence and emerging security and defense cooperation between India, US, Australia and Japan that was used to create domain effects in financial (economic) and diplomatic (UN and international) domains.

In the military domain the primary shift was to use information operations, select technology curve Precision Guided Munitions (PGM) to use and create an offensive military doctrine that would help to undermine the Pakistani deterrence.⁵



US President, Indian & Japanese Prime Ministers meeting on the sidelines of G20 Summit in Buenos Aires (December 2018)



The use of high technology and the redrawing of the continental forces to carve a space for limited war had been the high point of the military doctrine, for the Indian policy makers and military commanders; this was offset by the nuclear capability of Islamabad.

Since 2004, India has slowly but certainly aimed to modify and develop its military strategy around the CSD referred at times as proactive strategy. The change, however, failed to deliver strategic deterrence or space for war to India during the multiple military crises between the two states.⁶

In each successive crises India could not carve the space and each crises resulted in a military standoff between the two states. Each year however, military exercises were conducted to test various elements of the CSD and the concept was expanded to bleed Pakistani forces by keeping the India Pakistan border and the line of control



active at higher level of operational readiness and engaging in continuous hostile fire across the border.

Defined as the “New Normal” in 2016, the shift though continuous in the Indian military strategy since the CSD, aimed to link sub conventional threats to conventional war, yet remaining under the nuclear threshold of the two states.

A military offensive against Pakistan, reconfigured as a “surgical strike” aided by the information operations, diplomatic, counter terrorism, was mainstreamed; as New Delhi sought space for limited war under a nuclear overhang

The counter strike by Pakistan the “quid pro plus” to hit six non-military targets in India and the fall of the Indian jets restored the conventional deterrence

To enable India to carry out a counter terrorism operation at an earlier stage of a conflict it was termed as a “preemptive strike”, which would stop before the start of major conventional war between the two states. It aimed to introduce “deterrence through punitive strikes at tactical level”.⁷ Despite the acknowledgment in the Indian LWD that space for conventional war is being reduced, especially with Pakistan, it claims that conventional operations will remain central to the conflict spectrum.⁸

A military offensive against Pakistan, reconfigured as a “surgical strike” aided by the information operations, diplomatic, counter terrorism, was mainstreamed; as New Delhi sought space for limited war under a nuclear over hang. Recognizing the fact that warfare is undergoing paradigm shift the LWD gives importance towards the non-contact and standoff capabilities, autonomous weapons system, electronic warfare, cyber capabilities or disruptive technologies that can have decisive impact on the battlefield.⁹

While these may be the possibilities of the future, the first quantum jump has been made by India in leveraging an aerial strike followed by a missile threat and naval mobilization.

The counter strike by Pakistan the “quid pro plus” to hit six non-military targets in India and the fall of the Indian jets restored the conventional deterrence. And the exchanges of nuclear threats reestablished direct deterrence in the nuclear domain. The fact remains that if general deterrence is not strengthened and the incentive to carry out a military activity is not penalized, for India, continued military strikes will remain a choice of military engagement. This of course will increase the risk of war.

In future as the rest of the Indian army may struggle to reach a uniform modernization standard in training, application and force employment; the LWD and the advanced weapon development roadmap of the Indian Ministry of Defence till 2020-25 places DEWs as a top priority as well as the use of hybrid strategy as part of military options for New Delhi.¹⁰

This means that as the Indian technology curve develops and interfaces with the military, it will become essential that general deterrence is reinforced and the gains without cost to India's as a strategy of choice may be made unavailable. It will also become pertinent that gains in the



Laying the basis of compellence as part of military war objective; the focus on other domains is driven towards a strategy based to create a “grey zone” of the conflict; where the shift to various domains will become regular part of war and will lead to a new era of hostilities at higher levy of the threat spectrum

military domain may not translate in other domains; to achieve this, space for war needs to be further squeezed, by Islamabad. This in practical terms will require revisiting the Kashmir issue as a binary function for state's *raison detre*, as the fight for self-determination and an unfinished part of the partition.

The action taken by India on August 5th 2019, through the reorganization bill itself is a challenge that cannot be undone as it strips Kashmiris in IOJK of their legal identity as Kashmiris. The only available choice being that they either opt for Indian citizenship or face detention centers. This is accompanied by a day and night curfew in IOJK.

The military strategy was designed as a multi-dimensional strategy in the economic, legal, diplomatic and information domain reducing and increasing the space of operations for military practioners to manage the conflict without the escalation

The purpose of these strikes was not to create a significant military impact but to create a response dilemma as non-military targets are engaged while keeping the initiative dominance in the conflict and war cycle. Accompanied with an information operations based media onslaught the military precision strikes are taken to provide the response challenge.

The military strategy was designed as a multi-dimensional strategy in the economic, legal, diplomatic and information domain reducing and increasing the space of operations for military practioners to manage the conflict without the escalation. Laying the basis of compellence as part of military war objective; the focus on other domains is driven towards a strategy based to create a “grey zone” of the conflict; where the shift to various domains will become regular part of war and will lead to a new era of hostilities at higher levy of the threat spectrum.

This is the heart of the new strategy crafted and used by New Delhi and its military and strategic planners, where IOJK crises has been redefined as an alleged “terror” issue. The global support for counter terrorism efforts under UNSC1373 and UNSC1267 is used to redefine the conflict in these terms. This has been the prime directive of the Indian diplomatic and information operations strategy and the war effort so that the conflict can be defined in the domestic context rather than bilateral framework, thereby creating a new context for Islamabad to respond.

The use of this has created a cross-domain approach where the war effort is driven in six parallel domains, economic, political, military, nuclear, Kashmir and counter terrorism. All simultaneously helped to shape the policy outcome of the military exchange with Pakistan over Kashmir in this framework.



Pulwama Attack - 14 February 2019



According to Indian war strategists the use of “preemptive strategy” inter alia hard force (below the nuclear threshold) was to keep the targets limited in time, space and effects from the military targets that may affect the threshold debate

It is likely to define the hybrid warfare, waged by India and the shape of the offensive battle of the future. The importance of establishing cross-domain deterrence cannot be underscored, particularly the need to strengthen it in all respective domains of deterrence to offset the offensive in the hybrid strategy.

Following the Uri attacks in IOJK, Indian Director General Military Operations (DGMO) claimed that Indian forces allegedly para dropped (500 meters - 2 km across the Line of Control) and destroyed terror launch pads in Pakistan.¹¹ These strikes apparently were taken to stop the hundreds of alleged terrorist gathered at the LOC who were about to cross. The claims by India were contested both by the international media and the Pakistani counter parts.¹² The views ranged from the non-existence of an actual air strike or behind enemy lines operations to escalated state of hostilities on the LOC.

According to Indian war strategists the use of “preemptive strategy” inter alia hard force (below the nuclear threshold) was to keep the targets limited in time, space and effects from the military targets that may affect the threshold debate. The counter terror framework and military measures taken across the borders would provide space for war and it would diplomatically isolate Pakistan.¹³

Diplomatic Domain

Pulwama Attack was followed by a series of steps taken by India to change the scepter of conflict to the terrorism framework. The time line indicates that the incident was neither seen nor termed as an act of domestic or international terrorism, but was defined as a starting point of initiating a hybrid war against Pakistan.

On 14 February 2019, the suicide attack by an indigenous Kashmiri freedom fighter killed 40 personnel of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). On 16 February 2019, customs duty on Pakistani imports was raised and the Most Favored Nation (MFN) status was withdrawn by New Delhi. On 19 February 2019, the Pakistani PM called for a dialogue and on the same day the India 's top military commander in IOJK, Lt Gen KJS Dhillon, accused Pakistan's ISI of “controlling” the attack with Jaish-e-Mohammad commanders, but he

provided no evidence.¹⁴ A threat was leveled to the mothers of IOJK youth that anyone who picked up the gun would be killed.¹⁵

On 20th February, the Kashmir bus service to Muzaffarabad was suspended by New Delhi and on 21 February, UNSC President issued a statement condemning the Pulwama attack and calling it a heinous act, it asserted that the members “underlined the need to hold perpetrators, organizers, financiers and sponsors of these reprehensible acts of terrorism accountable and bring them to justice, and urged all states, in accordance with their obligations under international law and relevant Security Council resolutions, to cooperate actively with the Government of India and all other relevant authorities, in this regard”.¹⁶

Seen as a huge breakthrough for the Indian interlocutors the statement read that there is a need for all states, to combat terrorism “by all means, in accordance with the UN charter and other obligations of the international law, including international human rights laws, international refugee law and international humanitarian law, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts”.¹⁷ This was seen by New Delhi as a vindication for its stance on the Kashmir struggle and by affixing the attribution of the claim to JEM, a step towards steering the debate in UNSC on Kashmir to terrorism.

On 21 February 2019 Indian government threatened to divert river waters that flow downstream to Pakistan. The statement was made by the Indian minister for water affairs Mr Nitin Gadkari that, “Our government has decided to stop our share of water which used to flow to Pakistan”. He added that the country would divert water from eastern rivers and supply it to “its people in Jammu and Kashmir after the deadly attack”.¹⁸

On 26 February 2019 Indian jets violated Pakistani airspace and territorial integrity and bombed an alleged terrorist (JEM) site in Pakistan; as an act of war was committed against Islamabad. India's use of this military option had been defined by New Delhi as a struggle to redefine the Kashmir dispute as a continuous struggle to carry out counter terror operations and by the US National Security Advisor as “India's, right for self-defense against cross border terrorism”.¹⁹ The official response of Washington as per the statement given by the White House after the incident called on Pakistan to “end immediately the support and safe haven provided to all terrorist groups operating on its soil and indicated that the incident only strengthens our resolve to bolster US-India counter terrorism cooperation.”²⁰ In short, the statement clearly reflected the new paradigm for Kashmir as defined by US and India, where it was to be seen as a threat to global peace, a

The early redefinition of the events of 14 February 2019 (in Pulwama) by the two alliance partners was to help bring the paradigm shift for the right wing Indian government and regionally resurgent India capable of carrying out a synchronised military, economic and diplomatic attack against its adversaries, namely Pakistan (later perhaps China)

counter terrorism challenge and a challenge to international security as seen in the post 9/11 international order rather than a historical dispute based on the UNSC resolutions protecting the right of self-determination.

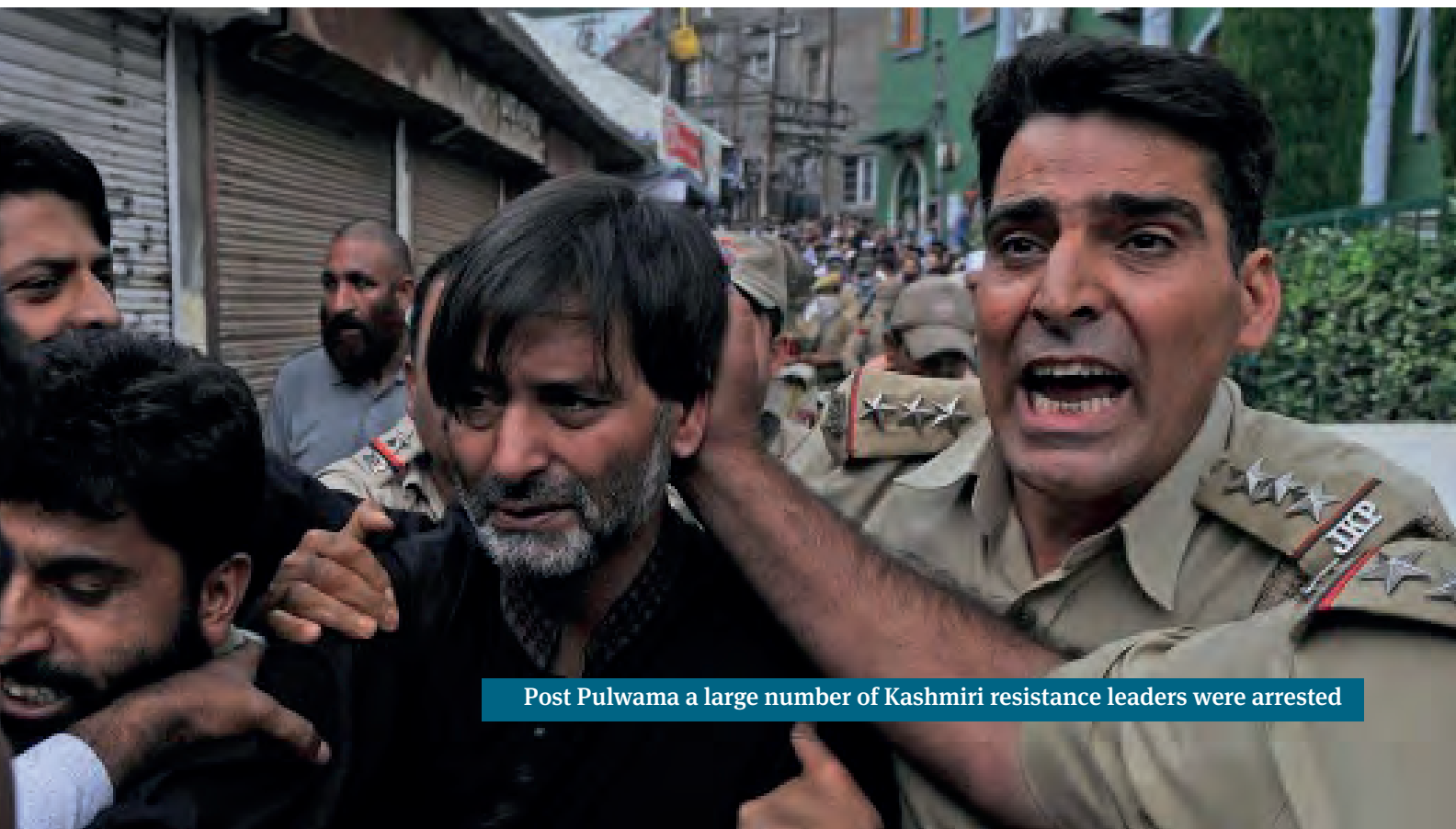
The early redefinition of the events of 14th February 2019 (in Pulwama) by the two alliance partners was to help bring the paradigm shift for the right wing Indian government and regionally resurgent India capable of carrying out a synchronised military, economic and diplomatic attack against its adversaries, namely Pakistan (later perhaps China). Hence, the close coordination at the international institutional level was followed by power abuse in IOJK by the Indian government.

This was followed by massive crackdown on 23 February 2019 and arrests were made through out IOJK, and a huge number of Kashmiri resistance leaders were arrested by New Delhi.²¹ By 25 February, various advisories were issued in the IOJK, indicating a war between India and Pakistan²² was in the making. In the view of the prevailing situation then, it was impressed upon “all the Chief Medical Officers (In IOJK), to collect the available supplies of drugs, medicines, surgical disposable items and other allied items for

their district hospitals.... in the interest of patient care”, by the Director of Health Services Kashmir (IOJK).²³ And on 26 February 2019, India carried out an aerial strike inside Pakistan, a clear act of war, defying all international norms and practices; the aim was to define the act under the premise of allegedly stopping “cross border terrorism” and as an act of self-defense by New Delhi.

What is significant to note is that while New Delhi’s use of air force to drop a bomb on the Pakistani territory was an act of war, it was defined by the US as a “counter terrorism measure undertaken by New Delhi.” What was not anticipated was that even if a non-military target was engaged by the Indian jet fighters, the mere fact that they crossed Pakistani borders with combat aerial assault machines was an act of war and that Islamabad would respond militarily.

Correspondingly, Pakistan in its right of self-defense under article 51 of the UN charter resorted to a counter strike on 27 February 2019. The Pakistan Air Force (PAF) intercepted the air violation by India on 27 February 2019 and two aircrafts were shot down along with the decision to dominate the escalation ladder to deliver a simple and clear message that no act of war could remain un responded; it carried the inherit risk of a large scale India - Pakistan war.



Post Pulwama a large number of Kashmiri resistance leaders were arrested



It was a mix of active defense (shooting of the aircrafts), nuclear threat to counter the Indian missile threat and policy of restraint through the choice of targets on the 27th and subsequently the display of target engagement at air, sea and land clearly stated that Pakistan would maintain initiative dominance on all escalatory steps of the war cycle

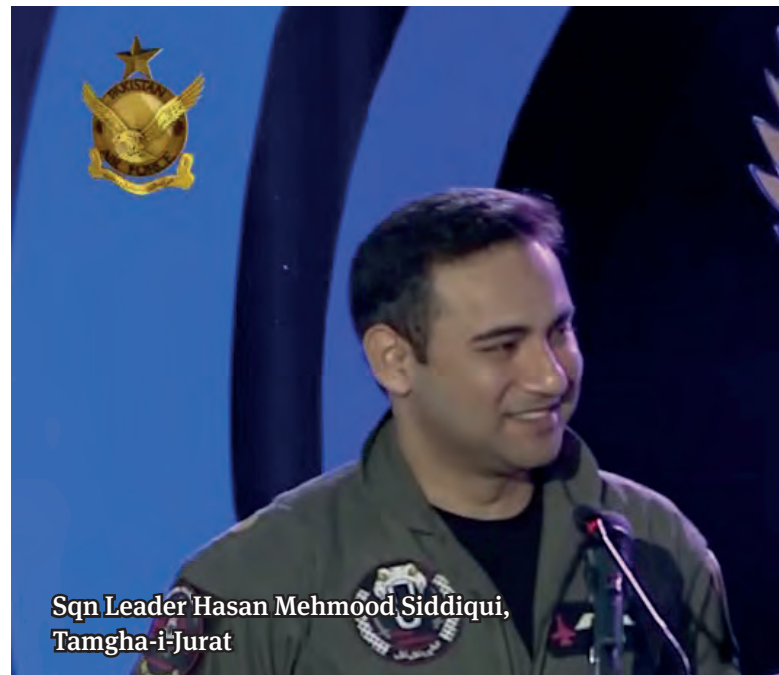
In the subsequent phase that is inter alia post 26 February 2019 phase, the actions taken by Islamabad in air, land and sea to effectively thwart the Indian aggression and decision to carry out a select kinetic action was to demonstrate that Pakistan would respond and that Islamabad would not stand for military compellence or the use of other domains to create military decision making paralysis in Islamabad. The decision to choose non-military targets had been carried out with a policy of restraint and active defense by Islamabad and also as a military demonstrator that Pakistan was a nuclear state and ready to militarily defend its right for self-defense. It was a mix of active defense (shooting of the aircrafts), nuclear threat to counter the Indian missile threat and policy of restraint through the choice of targets on the 27th and subsequently the display of target engagement at air, sea and land clearly stated that Pakistan would maintain initiative dominance on all escalatory steps of the war cycle.

The use of restraint and active defense by Islamabad was the indication that the transition sought by New Delhi was neither complete nor possible/ implementable against Islamabad without the risk of a large scale war between the nuclear armed adversaries. The choice of target engagement by PAF and the destruction of the non-military targets inside IOJK did however, create a challenge of sorts for the Indian defense planners, the quint-essential issue of finding space for war in a nuclear overhang; the response challenge.

India on the eve of 27th and 28th had responded with a missile threat which itself indicated that the non-land approach was at play. The non-use of the land option indicated that despite the diplomatic, political and economic dominance of the structures the shift in the military nuclear

domain was not complete or broad enough to dominate the entire war cycle and two, the restructuring of the Kashmir dispute as “terrorism and counter terrorism” challenge would also not go undisputed as Islamabad militarily, politically and diplomatically remained determined to fight back.

February 2019 military engagement between India and Pakistan has shaped the dynamics of future wars between the two nuclear-armed adversaries.



Sqn Leader Hasan Mehmood Siddiqui,
Tamgha-i-Jurat

Militarily, Pakistan displayed extra ordinary skill; however at the diplomatic level action was awaited. Contrary to this, India's behaviour post handing over of the shot Indian pilot continued at the diplomatic level and on 28 February through the three permanent members of the UNSC, US, UK and France made a listing request, asking for a travel ban, arms embargo and asset freeze of the JEM leader Masood Azhar citing the Pulwama incident as a force behind the attacks; this was despite the fact that the allegations were leveled against the organization within 24 hours of the incident without any acceptable forensic evidence or investigation into the issue.

This has raised the possibility of the conventional and nuclear war between the two protagonist, while escalation and a military standoff continues between India and Pakistan

The right of self-determination remains protected under article 1 of the UN Charter and UNGA resolution 3314, which justifies the use of armed struggle for the right of self-determination not only for the people under occupation but also for the UN member states that defend the people's right for self-determination

on the borders; the power centers in India have exerted pressure on Pakistan by terming the current stand off as a counter terrorism effort by New Delhi under UNSC1373 calling for firmer action against JEM a militant organization to be called a terrorist organization under FATF and 1269, 1368 and 1373.

This of course has created complications as Pakistan completely endorses the challenge of 1373 and FATF responsibilities under 1267. But these could not endorse Indian illegal actions in IOJK; as the right of self-determination remains protected under article 1 of the UN Charter and UNGA resolution 3314, which justifies the use of armed struggle for the right of self-determination not only for the people under occupation but also for the UN member states that defend the people's right for self-determination.



Wing Commander Noman Ali,
Sitara-i-Jurat

The unwarranted aggression of the Indian military against Pakistan and its sovereignty, as per the UN Charter, its resolutions/articles, establishes that these actions are Acts of War.

Article 2 of the UN Charter, which calls upon member states not to threaten or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of the state so that international peace and security is not endangered. However, as per the Article 3 of UNGA Resolution A/RES/29/3341 an act of aggression is defined as, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of article 2, qualify as an act of aggression:-

- The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any

annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof.

- Bombardment by the armed forces of a State against the territory of another State or the use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State.
- The blockade of the ports or coasts of a State by the armed forces of another State.
- An attack by the armed forces of a State on the land, sea or air forces, or marine and air fleets of another State.
- The use of armed forces of one State which are within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving State, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement.

Pakistan respected its obligations under UNSC 1373 and had taken effective steps against terrorist organization under National Action Plan. It is important to state that the conditions in IOJK could not be equated as a case for counter terrorism action. It is the principle of self-determination, the rights established under article 1 of UN Charter and Article 7 of the UNGA resolution 3341; inter alia the right for self-determination and armed struggle if so required. The Indian attempt to convert the Kashmir freedom struggle as such was seen by Islamabad as a framing of a new domain to create strategic effects in the military and nuclear domain.

These are supported by the UNSC 47 (1948) resolution of 21st April 1948; UNSC 51 (1948) resolution of 3rd June 1948; UNSC 80 (1950) resolution of 14th March 1950 for resolving the Kashmir dispute through peaceful means by holding free fair plebiscite, recognizing the right of Kashmiri people for self-determination. This was restated in the later resolutions on Kashmir.

The current agitation in IOJK is rooted in the struggle of the people for the exercise of their right of self-determination. Accordingly,

Article 2 of the UN resolution A/RES/39/17 adopted on 23 November 1984, it "Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for their independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial domination, apartheid and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle".

The current agitation in IOJK is rooted in the struggle of the people for the exercise of their right of self determination



Post Pulwama, Pakistan faced two fundamental geo-economic challenges i.e. firstly the direct cost of persistent conflict at LOC and its effects to deteriorate Pakistan's economy; secondly, Pakistan being threatened to be black listed by FATF/APG

Article 9 of the UN resolution A/RES/39/17 adopted on 23 November 1984 it, "Strongly condemns the wanton killing of peaceful and defenceless demonstrators and workers on strike".

Pakistan; Pakistan must stipulate to the UN Secretary General that an Act of War has been committed against the State of Pakistan and the continuous aggression against the people of IOJK



Funeral of Naseer Ahmad Pandit killed by Indian soldiers in Pulwama - 16 May, 2019

Article 29 of the UN resolution A/RES/39/17 adopted on 23 November 1984, it, "Demands the immediate and unconditional release of all persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and independence, full respect for their fundamental individual rights and compliance with article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, under which no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment".

Given the fact that India is continuing to term the Kashmir freedom movement as terrorism and has carried out an act of aggression against

has led to a threat of nuclear war between the two nuclear armed states as the escalation remains high and threat of war remains alive.

In short, it can be stated that domain of choice for India during Pulwama and post Pulwama had remained driven by Kashmir and the counter terrorism framework; a domain vigorously challenged by Islamabad. After the material changes in IOJK of 5th August 2019 the debate has swung back to the interstate domain and a reverse challenge is created for the Indian polity to deal with the after effects of this.

An Act of War has been committed against the state of Pakistan and the continuous aggression against the people of IOJK has led to a threat of nuclear war between the two nuclear armed states as the escalation remains high and threat of war remains alive

Economic Domain

“Post Pulwama, Pakistan faced two fundamental geo-economic challenges i.e. firstly the direct cost of persistent conflict at LOC and its effects to deteriorate Pakistan’s economy; secondly, Pakistan being threatened to be black listed by FATF/APG”.²⁴

The economic domain was used by New Delhi as it used its influence to increase pressure through global regulatory frameworks to constrain Pakistan’s economy and finance. The enormity of the economic challenge faced by Islamabad was challenged further due to the “fragile external account, which was and is the weakest link in our economic policy management strategy”.²⁵ It is evident that India’s strategic planners have used the geo-economic tool by choice to keep Pakistan engaged economically by incurring unsustainable economic cost, as part of its strategy to exert pressure on Islamabad on this domain for results in the other domain. The strategy to increase violations on the LOC, increase threat level due to Pulwama (air domain) and the need to remain mobilized until May 19 (till India went into election phase) would be hugely expensive, both in terms of escalation fatigue and economic costs. And second was to place Pakistan on FATF blacklist.

The LOC remained active in one way or other since last decade or so and a persistent engagement was likely to increase unsustainability for Pakistan. Lower GDP growth (forecasts for Pakistan), demonstrated that the threat of negative economic impact was not imaginary. Thus, Pakistan is busy fighting multiple wars on the economic front, the LOC, military domain and diplomatic domain all to gain traction on Kashmir.

“Pakistan economic challenges and vulnerabilities are evident from the weak macroeconomic indicators and several

Being placed on the FATF Grey List carries no direct legal or financial implications but brings extra scrutiny from regulators and financial institutions that can chill trade and investment as it also increase transaction costs

international institutions (World Bank, IMF, ADB and UNESCAPE) have predicted lower GDP growth in FY 2019 and subsequent years”.²⁶ According to World Economic Outlook Report of IMF, Pakistan’s GDP will grow at 2.9 percent in FY19 and 2.8 percent in FY20. The World Bank has also projected lower growth trajectory in coming years. Similar projections have been issued by the Asian Development Bank²⁷ (FY 19 growth will decelerate to 3.9). In short, if the escalation continued and Pakistan remained on the grey list, the fear of uncertainty would cripple any government in Islamabad.

One of the key economic barometers was the threat of being black listed by the FATF. India is using global institutions (UNO and UNSC) and the intergovernmental platforms to pressurize Pakistan’s economy as Indian strategic planners know very well that the economy is Pakistan’s Achilles heel. Pakistan remained in the grey and black lists several times. In the current “Grey List” Pakistan is the most significant country in terms of population and size of economy and military. Being placed on the FATF Grey List carries no direct legal or financial implications but brings extra scrutiny from regulators and financial institutions that can chill trade and investment as it also increase transaction costs.

Cost of Mobilization

India had shifted the domain and the tools too: the selected domain is economy and tools are established geo-economics i.e. the cost of war and usage of global regulatory/financial frameworks to settle geostrategic score. The conflict is costly business and persistent engagement at LOC is highly unsustainable. “According to our estimates (in-house estimates based on certain set of assumptions), Pakistan will be facing a cost of mobilization in the range of US\$ 9-12 billion per month if immediate de-escalation was

Pakistan is busy fighting multiple wars on the economic front, the LOC, military domain and diplomatic domain all to gain traction on Kashmir





not conducted by March 2020. Keeping in view Pakistan's foreign exchanges reserves position, the estimated cost seems unsustainable, as the Net FX Reserve held by SBP (US \$ 9.7 billion)²⁸ were not foreign direct investments but loans.

Similarly, if Pakistan remained in economic uncertainty the direct and indirect costs to the larger macro-economic framework were to remain higher and widespread.²⁹

The second challenge was compliance with FATF and the APG- FATF regional style body. Pakistan was "Grey Listed"³⁰ and the potential of being "Black Listed by FATF remains alive till to date". The Country remained in Grey List from February 2012-2014 on the plea that domestic legal and regulatory frameworks were not enough to meet the global standards for effectively combating the twin menaces of money laundering and terrorist financing.

Pakistan was taken out of the Grey List in 2015 when APG acknowledged the will and tangible efforts of Government of Pakistan and its institutions towards meeting the new set of requirements. Pakistan was again Grey Listed in 2018 and FATF made an official statement that Pakistan was allegedly failing to curb anti-terror financing.

The most interesting aspect in this regards had been that each time Pakistan was blacklisted, India was the chair of the APG. In short, it can be stated that the economic domain, its timing and the particular condition of the Pakistan's economy was chosen for the strike to create the desired effects in the military domain

Pakistan made a high-level political commitment to work with the FATF and APG to strengthen its AML/CFT [anti money laundering/ combating financing of terrorism] regime and to address its strategic counter-terrorist financing-related deficiencies. Steps were taken to improve its AML/CFT regime, including through the operationalization of the integrated database for its currency declaration regime.

"Given the limited progress on action plan items due in January 2019, the FATF urged Pakistan to swiftly complete its action plan, particularly those with timelines of May 2019".³¹ The most interesting aspect in this regards had been that





Pakistan must go all out to make the world realize that its commitment against illegal financing/ money laundering must not be judged by peculiar geo-political conditions created by India

each time Pakistan was blacklisted, India was the chair of the APG. In short, it can be stated that the economic domain, its timing and the particular condition of the Pakistan's economy was chosen for the strike to create the desired effects in the military domain.

The FATF had posited that "Pakistan had revised its TF [terrorism financing] risk assessment; however, it did not demonstrate a proper understanding of the TF risks posed by "Da'esh, Al Qaeda, Jamaatud Dawa, Falah-i-Insaniyat Foundation, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba, Jaish-e-Muhammad, the Haqqani Network, and persons affiliated with the Taliban".³² In short it can be concluded that the economic domain was used along with the CT domain and Kashmir to recreate effects in other domain, ultimately draw in Pakistan's response over Kashmir.

For the economic domain Pakistan needed to follow two pronged strategy to fight out the situation; firstly an intense diplomatic campaign in the world capitals and United Nations for complete and proper de-escalation to avoid heavy economic costs. Secondly, Pakistan must go all out to make world realize that its commitment against illegal financing/money laundering must not be judged by peculiar geo-political conditions created by India.

Military Domain

In terms of military effects the use of airstrikes by both India and then respectively Pakistan have presented perhaps a unique example of a limited war, which has centered on non-military target engagement by both sides. The war, perhaps the shortest war between Indian and Pakistan, with the most intense military standoff had the most significant lesson for the future of military engagement in the region. It clarified that no future war in this region could remain limited if the two sides aimed to achieve strategic effects for each party.

For India, the choice of target was to shift the gains from the information, economic, diplomatic domain to the military domain and the nuclear domain; all to create compellence.

Limited in space, time and military effects it created a case for most complex nuclear deterrence application. Secondly, this signals the application

of hybrid war against Pakistan. However, it did create few lessons in the military domain inter alia they were:

Selected kinetic operations were conducted in the military domain to offset the Pakistani ability to respond, however, the gains in the other domains remained short of the desired end objective for domination of the war cycle by New Delhi, as the escalation dominance was lost earlier in the war cycle by New Delhi to Islamabad

For New Delhi, the strategy was based on the use of force and select kinetic operations through the use of counter terrorism framework to legitimize war while keeping it limited to a desired level. The US alliance was to add to the security architecture built around the use of force and use of economic coercion to restrict the military options available to Islamabad.

For India the choice of target was to shift the gains from the information, economic, diplomatic domain to the military domain and the nuclear domain; all to create compellence

The strategy of use of force defined through counter terrorism also could not be used beyond the first cycle of conflict as a single domain that is inter alia military, because the fear was that the war may not remain limited and a larger scale war could breakout, hence the use of single domain had limited value. The counter terrorism framework was inter alia used as to shift domains that is back from the military domain to the economic, political, diplomatic and ultimately the counter terrorism framework to draw in the benefits of the select kinetic operations in the military domain. The shift allowed India to draw in the benefits despite a failed attempt in the military domain. The war effort shifted to the diplomatic and economic domain, with the alliance relationship of India - US. Pakistan





Ex-Indian General (Lt Gen (R) Syed Ata Hasnain) lauds ISPR for 'defeating India' in Hybrid War

banned Masood Azher as well as went into furious negotiations with the FATF Asia Pacific Group on counter terrorism, despite the Indian chairmanship (a conflict of interest). The fear for blacklisting and the possibility of economic coercion had been one of the major factors that the deterrence was created in the military domain to keep the war limited. Immediately, after the Pulwama attack, the Indian Prime Minister took war over Kashmir to Pakistan despite the fact that there were no initial investigations carried out prior to the allegations leveled against Islamabad particularly when the matter was taken over to UNSC to garner support and define the occurrence (Kashmir uprising) as a counter terrorism challenge.

However, two subsequent results came out as result of this domain; one the UNSC President's statement on the 28 February 2019 asking Islamabad to ban JEM as terrorist organization and two, enter into deliberations on further conditions as per the provisions of the FATF, though the later was not part of the UNSC statement but was part of the framework in the political/ diplomatic domain in the building of the economic domain to be used against Islamabad, central to the use of compellence as a use of strategy.

When an opponent has “no incentive to initiate or escalate conflict at any given intervention or escalation threshold in any given domain of warfare—both vertically and horizontally within that domain and laterally into one or more additional domains of warfare—successful Cross-Domain Deterrence can be said to be in effect

The change of employment as well as the sequence of employment from AIR, MISSILE, NAVAL to INFO, DIPLOMATIC and ECONOMIC signal the following that a) this change in military strategy to use preemption, air, missile and naval domain will remain a strategy of choice and this may be improved upon in the future with increased technological and conventional asymmetry; a real possibility; b) less the complete mobilization of the land forces was aimed at creating a response dilemma for the use of land forces by Islamabad; and not actually a battle option for New Delhi as this would have escalated the war cycle into a larger war between the two; c) the military effects were designed to support the info, diplomatic and economic domain of the military strategy which were retracted due to the Pakistani military response and the downing of the two Indian aircrafts and the capture of the Indian pilot. The Pakistani dominance of the information domain in terms of raising questions to the use of false flag operation by India at the sub conventional level to initiate or to attempt a surgical strike vis-a-vis Pakistan would not go unchallenged, may even fail to create the use of select kinetic operations under nuclear overhang.

The shortest India Pakistan war and nuclear standoff still remains a threat for future exchange of military strikes, particularly as cross-domain deterrence is not in place for the two nuclear protagonists.

Designed for cross domain compellence where gains in one domain were to shift in next domain primarily economic, diplomatic and information domain, it appears that the absence of cross domain deterrence framework between the two parties created the stalemate as well as to certain degree, the restoration of deterrence equation between the two states.

When an opponent has “no incentive to initiate or escalate conflict at any given intervention or escalation threshold in any given domain of warfare—both vertically and horizontally within that domain and laterally into one or more additional domains of warfare—successful cross-domain deterrence can be said to be in effect.³³ However, before the debate can move to the relatively newer plane of Cross Domain Deterrence it is important that deterrence is established if,” it operates both before and during a conflict, either by punishing the adversary or by denying it benefits sought through aggression”.³⁴

In the absence of this, if the use of aggression as a policy is to create coercion (influence strategic choices), or to compel the adversary to choose amongst options that it must act for the fear of consequences; certain steps are required.³⁵

The strategy must not envisage the use of an all-out punishment as it may be counterproductive. It may escalate the conflict to the level, where the incentive for compromise is far below than the incentive for establishing deterrence by punishment

In order, to compel or coerce a nuclear adversary certain preconditions are necessary, inter alia these are:

- It is necessary that effects based strategy be created in multiple domains and not in a single domain of application.
- This must be complimented by quick shifts from military domain to the information to economic, diplomatic and political.
- For compellence or coercion to work it must allow the opponent to choose a compromise.
- The strategy must not envisage the use of an all-out punishment as it may be counterproductive. It may escalate the conflict to the level, where the incentive for compromise is far below than the incentive for establishing deterrence by punishment.
- For deterrence to work it is necessary that the deterrer is able to hold something, which the aggressor holds in value and risk to it, is considered as incalculable.
- The state of technology can either contribute to or detract from the effectiveness of deterrent threat; both intra conflict first strike and crises stability.³⁶
- The “threshold that first trigger, actions threatened as part of the deterrent strategy” (intervention thresholds) form an essential component of deterrence.
- The intra conflict break points define the decision making stress as in the face of miscalculation. These if misunderstood, can lead to a vertical escalation and vertical escalation thresholds; the most deadly phase in a given domain of warfare.
- A deliberate ambiguity is created in the definition of the aggressor as well as the

For deterrence to work it is necessary that the deterrer is able to hold something, which the aggressor holds in value and risk to it, is considered as incalculable



aggression so that the ultimate aggression remains attributable and something beyond control.³⁷ This is aimed at creating a response dilemma in the opposing side and to sow reasonable doubt as to the identity and responsibility of the ultimate instigator of the aggression.³⁸

- The international community must remain unsure of the nature of the act and the aggression committed by the aggressor, this must be denied to the international community as a course of action.

The aim of such strategy is to create strategic paralysis in the decision makers and to create an overt strategic and tactical surprise, where the gains of one are shifted to the next domain.

In order to deter this successfully, the deterrer must be able to preempt these attempts to manipulate or compromise its intervention and escalation thresholds.³⁹

Nuclear Domain

On 26 February the IAF violated the Pakistani air space and carried out an act of war by an attack on a site in Pakistan, at Balakot. The aggression and attack was categorized by India as a “counter terrorism” strike and displayed the Indian resolve to fight a limited war under a “nuclear overhang”.

Pakistan regained deterrence by a counter attack on 27th February 2019, by hitting six non-military targets in India. These targets were

The aim of such strategy is to create strategic paralysis in the decision makers and to create an overt strategic and tactical surprise, where the gains of one are shifted to the next domain



Pakistan Navy detected and blocked Indian Navy Submarine from entering into Pakistani waters, (6 March 2019)

engaged from within the line of control. This led to escalation in India to the next two domains in succession; the missile (India moved it is Brahmos regiments to high alert) and its submarines (had entered Pakistan's naval waters).

The introduction of the strategic weapons by India in the immediate aftermath of Pakistan's counter response has indicated an immediate escalation in the war cycle by New Delhi to the nuclear and strategic domain. These threats were matched by Pakistan's resolve to mitigate any incoming missile threat with Pakistani threat of missile strike, in case of Indian missile misadventure.⁴⁰ The missile standoff however could not create a complete deterrent effect. India shifted its attack into the naval domain and the Indian naval vessels entered into dangerous proximity of the Pakistani territorial waters.⁴¹

This Indian naval mobilization was stated by New Delhi as one of the largest, made possible due to the Tropex19 naval exercises of India. The Tropex 19 exercises allegedly led to the availability of such large number of combat ready vessels for redeployment against Pakistan on a short notice. "The message of this posturing is deterrence" stated the former Indian Naval Chief Admiral Arun Prakash.⁴²

During the "exercise 60 Indian navy ships, 12 coast guards and 60 aircrafts were stretched from east coast of Africa till Straits of Malacca".⁴³ However during the reposition of these vessels in the Indian Ocean the naval mobilization remained far below the desired level to create a meaningful offensive posture.

Theoretically, the presence of an Indian aircraft carrier should be accompanied with minimum two destroyers or at least two frigates, few smaller vessels and a few submarines. In addition, the manner in which the naval vessel that is inter alia the aircraft was engaged in the military brinkmanship did raise basic questions with regards to the utility of the naval option in the

military domain by New Delhi as the vessel was not accompanied by the necessary naval vessels that could have created an effect. However, if it was kept deliberately less than the necessary effective combat effectiveness to acquire select kinetic operation, then the question remains how were the effects achieved to translate it into an effective deterrent capacity in the military domain.

Primarily because India claimed that there were more vessels and Pakistan was deterred due to this, not to expand the military domain. However, if the New Delhi's claim was right and if such large number of vessels were able to reposition themselves against Pakistan with possible amphibious operation capacity, than this could not have been done in isolation or without visibility. If such operations were halted to ensure that the use of naval domain remained limited. If it is the desired intent than there are bigger questions about India's naval potential in carrying out a policy of coercion against Islamabad simply because complete or even limited success

Post nuclearisation of Indian Ocean, traditionally the biggest challenge for New Delhi has remained to maintain the relevance of a conventional superiority in a nuclear environment

against the Pakistani defense in the naval domain was not visible during the course of the crises.

This created a challenge with regards to how to draw in the space for limited war against Pakistan than let alone to create dominance of the nuclear domain for New Delhi, without inciting the risk of an outbreak of a larger scale war between the two nuclear armed adversaries.

The use of the naval option by New Delhi and then limited offensive outreach indicated that the nuclear domain after the failure of direct

The compellence in the economic and political domain could not stop Pakistan from responding back in the military domain though it did create an effect to keep the war cycle at lower levels of engagement

deterrence in 26th February was reestablished by the single domain response in the aerial combat and initiative dominance in a single military domain; the result being that of deterrence as it stood reestablished. Here following questions are raised:

One, that although the operations were designed as part of the exercises to be shifted for battle readiness, but due to operational inefficiency, the time and combat effectiveness the naval vessels did not reach in time; or Pakistan navy and armed forces locked targets in time and New Delhi could not risk a naval missile strike without huge loss in naval assets. This brings into question the response readiness of Pakistan naval assets, which had put a restraint to the option of limited strike two, what would be the fate of such an option if they are used during a multi nation naval exercise in Pakistani waters in the future. (That could be reposition for war under alliance partners of New Delhi). In such a case what would be the response options for Islamabad, these remain challenges for the defense planners.

Second, if the understanding was to keep Pakistani assets in the Arabian sea or the Indian ocean, it ran contrary to the defense aspiration of Islamabad, that has maintained that the force posture of the Pakistan naval operations is primarily defense with joint operations efficacy followed by offensive operations only under certain conditions. Hence this clearly manifests as failed naval posturing by New Delhi during the crises.

Post nuclearisation of the Indian ocean traditionally the biggest challenge for New Delhi has remained to maintain the relevance of a conventional superiority in a nuclear environment. And secondly to create a space for a limited war under the Pakistani nuclear threshold in a manner where coercion could be exercised to create compellence. This desire remained unfulfilled as nuclear domain balance could not be shifted in the favor of New Delhi without fighting an actual war; hence the possibility of escalation.

Conclusion

“A precautionary war is one waged not out of a strong conviction that a dangerous threat is brewing in the target state, but rather because it is suspected that such a threat might one day emerge”.⁴⁴



Indian fighter jet downed by PAF - 27 February, 2019

A state is likely to indulge in such a war if it believes that it has reasonable intelligence that the threat is imminent; two, all other options of policy have failed and three, it must be seen in the framework of probable costs as well as expected benefits.⁴⁵ Stated as a quest for absolute security, this has been contested by its opponents on the account that absolute security is not attainable by mere military activity.

Second, “preventive war is a war, the only differentiating aspect is the timing”⁴⁶ Third, the gains of a preemptive war outweigh the costs. If these conditions are not met, brinksmanship in the nuclear domain can offset all gains in the other domains in case if a major war breaks out.

In conclusion, it can be stated that while the aim of the effort was to dominate the war cycle and create Cross Domain Deterrence through the economic, political and diplomatic domination of the war cycle it remained short of execution and total victory, as the threat of large scale war far outweighed the gains. The compellence in the economic and political domain could not stop Pakistan from responding back in the military domain though it did create an effect to keep the war cycle at lower levels of engagement.

The only victory gained in this respect has been the relative pause to use the military option in a larger proportion, as such use could offset the advantages of other domains, as no war between India and Pakistan can remain limited in time, space or effects.

Dr Maria Sultan is the Chairperson and the Director General of the South Asian Strategic Stability Institute (SASSI) University. She is also an advisor to the Ministry of Defence on Strategic and Military Affairs



Notes

1. A high order war is a "state on state conflict that includes one or more than one element of the following: a declaration of interstate war; large-scale protracted or strategically decisive conventional combat or a nuclear attack or exchange" for further details see. Coinable, B., J. H. Campbell, and D. Madden, *Stretching and Exploiting thresholds for High-Order War: How Russia, China, and Iran Are Eroding American Influence Using Time-Tested Measures Short of War*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, RR-1003-A, 2016. As of January 31, 2018: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1003.html
2. Cross domain deterrence in US China Strategy, James Couras, Edward Smyth, Thomas Mahnken (Maryland: John Hopkins university 2107), p Vii.
3. Dinshaw Mistry', Complexity of Deterrence among new nuclear weapon states; the India-Pakistan Case', in T.V.Paul, Patrick M. Morgan, and James J. Wirtz, (eds), *Complex Deterrence Strategy in the Global Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p, 183.
4. Ibid, pp 184-187.
5. Ibid, pp 195-197.
6. India and Pakistan have both faced numerous military crises since the CSD's operationalization. The crises and military standoff lasted in most occasions more than a year inter alia such as, military standoff of 2001-2002, 2007-8, 2012-2014, 2016-17, and 2018.
7. Joy Mitra, India's Land Warfare Doctrine 2018: Hoping for the Best, Preparing for the Worst, 03 January 2019. For further details see: <http://A.2018.iterationofindiaslandwarfaredoctrine.com/2019/01/indias-land-warfare-doctrine-2018-hoping-for-the-best-preparing-for-the-worst/>
8. Ibid
9. Ibid
10. The DEWs have been identified by HQ IDS as the key thrust area until 2025; according to the Indian Ministry of Defence's Headquarters Integrated Defence Staff (HQ IDS) – a joint service headquarters of all three services of the Indian Armed Forces, namely the Army, Navy, and Air Force – acts as the point organization for integration of policy, doctrine, war fighting, and procurement. For further details see : "THE SOUTH ASIA CHANNEL: Directed Energy Weapons, India's Strategic Game Changer?," foreign policy, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/08/15/directed-energy-weapons-indias-strategic-game-changer/#>
11. 4 hours, choppers and 38 kills: How India avenged the Uri attack 12 July 2012 Read more at http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/5457985.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cpsst <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/army-conducted-surgical-strikes-on-terror-launch-pads-on-loc-significant-casualties-caused-dgmo/printarticle/5457985.cms>
12. M Ilyas Khan, India's 'surgical strikes' in Kashmir: Truth or illusion?, 23 october 2016, for further details see: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-37702790>
13. Samir Saran, and Ashok Malik "India's new Pakistan strategy: It raises the costs for nurturing terror even if isolating Pakistan is not entirely feasible," (24 October 2016, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/indias-new-pakistan-strategy-raises-costs-for-terror-isolation-not-possible/>)
14. Pulwama attack: Pakistan warns India against military action <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47290107>
15. Ibid
16. UNSC Condemns Pulwama Attack, Notes That Jaish-e-Mohammad Claimed Responsibility <https://thewire.in/security/un-security-council-pulwama-attack-jem>
17. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) President' Anatolio Ndong Aba statement UNSC/13712, 21 february 2019, Security Council Press Statement on Suicide Bombing in Jammu and Kashmir <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sc13712.doc.htm>
18. India again threatens to restrict flow of river water to Pakistan as tension builds, 22 February 2019, for further details see: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/22/india-again-threatens-to-restrict-flow-of-river-water-to-pakistan-as-tension-builds>
19. India, Pakistan and Pulwama Crisis", updated 26 february 2019, US congressional research service, for further details see <http://crsreports.congress.gov>
20. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-press-secretary-terrorist-attack-india/>
21. India, Pakistan and Pulwama Crisis", updated 26 february 2019, US congressional research service, for further details see <http://crsreports.congress.gov>
22. The News, 24 February 2019, "Hurriyat leaders among dozens held in IHK", for further details see: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/435987-hurriyat-leaders-among-dozens-held-in-ihk>
23. The News, 26 february 2019, War hysteria: IHK people stock up on essentials for further details see, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/437102-war-hysteria-ihk-people-stock-up-on-essentials>
24. Dr Shazia Ghani, "Geo economic Challenges of Pulwama Incident and FATF implications", SASSI Strategy Paper No 2, March 2019. Dr. Shazia Ghani is currently working as Director Economic Policy Affairs & Belt and Road Initiative, South Asian Strategic Stability Institute University. The views expressed in the article are those of author only. 2- <https://www.dawn.com/news/1475102> 3- <https://www.dawn.com/news/1474558>
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. Asian Development Bank Outlook, April 2019 <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/492711/ado2019.pdf>
28. <http://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/forex.pdf> ⁸ <http://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/forex.pdf>
29. The indirect costs like increase in inflation, decline in industrial productivity, decline in exports, deterioration in currency etc. will soon trickle down up to the economy of masses and Pakistan will be in internal economic security situation. All this will lead up to have GDP growth Rate even less than 3 to 4 percent. Currently, Pakistan's external account is not sustainable and constant conflict as designed by India's strategic planners will destroy the economy if a proper de-escalation is not happened after May 2019.
30. <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/publications/high-risk-and-other-monitored-jurisdictions/documents/public-statement-february-2019.html>
31. Dr shazia Ghani , Op cit.
32. Ibid
33. King Mallory, New Challenges in Cross Domain Deterrence, Rand Cooperation https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE259/RAND_PE259.pdf
34. Lawrence Freedman, *Deterrence*, (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press 2004)
35. King Mallory, Op cit, p 3
36. King Mallory, Op cit, p5.
37. Ibid
38. Ibid
39. Connable, B., J. H. Campbell, and D. Madden, *Stretching and Exploiting thresholds for High-Order War: How Russia, China, and Iran Are Eroding American Influence Using Time-Tested Measures Short of War*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, RR-1003-A, 2016. As of January 31, 2018: for further details see https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1003.html
40. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-kashmir-crisis-insight/india-pakistan-threatened-to-unleash-missiles-at-each-other-sources-idUSKCN1QY03T>
41. India has 1 aircraft carrier, 1 nuclear power attack submarine, 14 conventionally powered submarines, and attack ships. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/naval-build-up-in-arabian-sea-puts-pakistan-on-back-foot/story->
42. Ibid
43. India deployed nuclear missile Armed submarine during Standoff with Pak for further details see <http://ndtv.com/india-news/india-deployed-nuclear-missile-armed-submarine-during-standoff-with-pakistan-2009178>
44. Colin S. Gray , THE IMPLICATIONS OF PREEMPTIVE AND PREVENTIVE WAR DOCTRINES: A RECONSIDERATION, (July 2007) for further details see: <http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>
45. Ibid
46. Ibid, p ix



COUNTER TERRORISM: THE WAR OF NARRATIVES



Dr Sheharyar Khan

Abstract

Counter Terrorism strategies are increasingly incorporating countering terrorist groups' narrative as well. However, there is still ambiguity on the meaning of narrative. Pakistan has also adopted several counter narrative initiatives yet all these efforts still need to be synchronized in order to effectively counter the narratives of different terrorist groups. This paper highlights the importance of narratives, deconstructs the narratives of religious, communal, sectarian and ethnic types of terrorist groups and provides a counter narrative model to counter all these different types of terrorist groups in Pakistan.

Keywords: *Narrative, Counter Terrorism, Strategic Communication, Information Operations, Civil Society, Social Media, Jihad, Propaganda, Alternative Narrative*



The menace of terrorism is still looming large over societies despite multifaceted efforts being carried out by states and their law enforcement agencies. The US global war on terror is far from over and terrorists have spread their tentacles to all corners of the globe. Pakistan too has borne the brunt of terrorism in past two decades. The kinetic operations are successful and have greatly reduced the threat of terrorism. Nevertheless, the idea of using terrorism as tactics for political goals is still relevant. Terrorism in Pakistan manifests itself in different ideological shades like religious, sectarian, ethnic and communal. The causes of terrorism are myriad and are beyond the scope of this paper. There is a growing understanding by different states and international bodies regarding the importance of counter-narrative operations as necessary tool in counter-terrorism efforts.

Narrative is a coherent system of interrelated and sequentially organized stories—sequence of related events—that share a common rhetorical desire to resolve a conflict by establishing audience expectations according to the known trajectories of its literary and rhetorical form

(Alex Schmid)

Understanding the narrative of terrorist group is the key to understanding terrorism. Terrorists are able to influence minds and perception of the people by constructing a simple but well-understood narrative. That is why they keep attracting youth and can easily replenish their foot soldiers. Terrorists target youth with their propaganda on the internet and social media. In this digital age, social media platforms have become a powerful tool for spreading terrorist narratives. The youth depend on social media to not only express themselves but also develop a sense of belonging. The main objectives of terrorists on the social media are engagement, propaganda, radicalization and recruitment. One of the main elements of counter terrorism efforts is to understand narratives of terrorists and then counter it with an alternative or counter narrative by the government. A lot of time, energy and resources are spent to fight the enemy through strategic communication, alternative narratives and messaging.

When Pakistan started its war on terrorism, the government narrative was not popular while that of terrorists' was widely accepted. The government struggled to win hearts and minds of its own people in its fight against terrorism.

Terrorists are able to influence minds and perception of the people by constructing a simple but well-understood narrative. That is why they keep attracting youth and can easily replenish their foot soldiers

One of the reasons of this struggle was that the government did not focus much on defeating the ideology of terrorism. All counter-terrorism efforts were focused only on building consensus for its kinetic operations. It took a while for the government to realize the importance of narrative in its fight against terrorism. However, there was lack of understanding and empirical research on deconstructing the narratives of different terrorist groups in Pakistan.

This paper is an attempt to highlight the importance of narrative in counter-terrorism efforts of the government. Furthermore, popular narratives of the terrorist organizations will be deconstructed in the light of academic studies carried out on the subject. The paper will propose a model of counter-narrative to fight terrorism in Pakistan.

Defining Narrative

To understand the narrative of terrorists, there is need to reach a definition. Different academic studies have identified the features of a narrative. Alex Schmid, a renowned authority on terrorism, defines narrative as a coherent system of interrelated and sequentially organized stories—sequence of related events—that share a common rhetorical desire to resolve a conflict by establishing audience expectations according to the known trajectories of its literary and rhetorical form.¹ Steve Corman adds that narrative is a system of stories that share themes, forms, and archetypes.² The stories comprising these narratives are inspired by real events rooted in the geo-contextual history and popular traditions of the targeted country. According to Corman, every story in a narrative need not to have exactly the same characteristics; however, they relate to one another in a way that creates a unified whole that is greater than the sum of its parts.³

Halverson, Goodall and Corman in their book "Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism"

Every story in a narrative need not to have exactly the same characteristics; however, they relate to one another in a way that creates a unified whole that is greater than the sum of its parts



explains that a narrative is defined as a story that produces meaning and is tied to identity. They point out that “these stories are so deeply ingrained in cultures that they are an essential part of people’s identities and who they are in any given cultural setting”. Halverson further explains that “.... culture is referring to an interrelated set of shared characteristics claimed by ethics, social, religious group, to which human beings collectively identify”.⁴ A narrative will connect to the basic notion of where we are from, what shall we do, what activities need to be organized, what we believe as a good Muslim⁵. Alex Schmid⁶ quoted George Dimitriu’s definition of narratives as “a resource for political actors to construct a shared meaning to shape perceptions, beliefs and behavior of the public”, they offer a structure through which “a shared sense is achieved, representing a past, present and future, an obstacle and a desired end-point”.

The main themes that appear in TTP’s narratives are the enforcement of their concocted version of Sharia law as the best political and social system for Pakistan; that jihad is legal and only option against non-believers, and Pakistani state is “apostate” and ally of non-believers

Deconstructing Terrorists’ Narrative

A number of studies have been done on the deconstruction of terrorist groups’ narratives. One important contribution is from Halverson, Goodall and Corman who have identified 13 narratives by Jihadi extremists.⁷ They have done content analysis of extremists’ statements, texts, and websites. One of the master narratives which is frequently used by the terrorists is about the seventy-two virgins which they would get as reward in heaven if they die as martyrs in fight against its enemy. This promised reward can entice youth especially from socially repressive societies where poor economic conditions also make it harder for them to get married. Other narratives that inspire people to join terrorists: (i) a basic grievance-the Muslim world is in chaos; (ii) for the Caliphate (Ideal Islamic Society); (iii) true Muslims have to engage in Jihad.

A narrative will connect to the basic notion of where we are from, what shall we do, what activities need to be organized, what we believe as a good Muslim

The stories comprising these narratives are inspired by real events rooted in the geo-contextual history and popular traditions of the targeted country

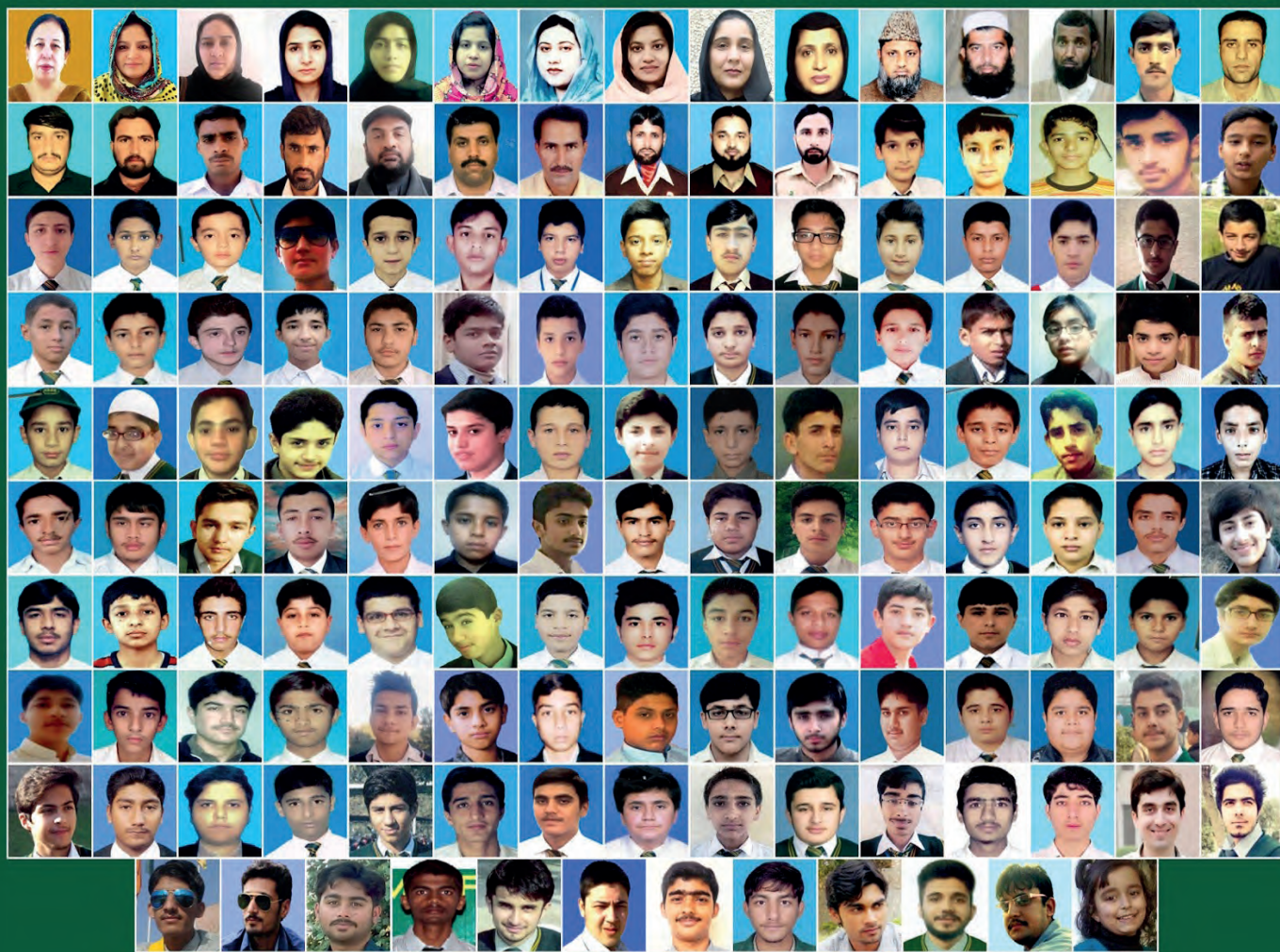
Alex Schmid⁸ has also found additional narratives used by religious extremists: “Suicide operations as an asymmetric tactics of warfare against enemies who are legitimate; no distinction is made between civilian and military targets in the fight against enemies; the killing of other Muslims is justified for their complicity with the West or with “apostate” Muslim governments which stand in the way of introducing strict Sharia law and an Islamic state; a concept which they misinterpret themselves”.

Another study conducted by Hedayah, the International Center of Excellence of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) based in Abu Dhabi, found four main themes in the terrorists’ narratives: 1) Religious or ideological narrative (e.g. the concept of Jihad and the difference between Muslim and Non-Muslim); 2) political narrative (e.g. government legitimacy, concept of state, caliphate); 3) social-heroic narrative (e.g. glorification of violent acts, grievances, social pressure); and 4) economic narrative (e.g. economic marginalization).⁹



All the narratives of extremists relate with the current issues faced by Muslims all over the world. Al-Qaeda has a strong single narrative: “a unifying framework of explanations that provides its followers with an emotionally satisfying portrayal of the world in which they live and their role in it, offering them a sense of identity and giving meaning to their lives”¹⁰.

SALUTE TO THE HEROES OF APS&C PESHAWAR



The watershed moment came when terrorists attacked Army Public School (APS) in Peshawar on 16 December 2014 killing 150 people including 134 children. The tragic event of APS shocked the whole nation. The tragedy galvanized all the political and armed forces to take decisive action against terrorists

To further breakdown the process of behavioral change in the extremists when they are exposed to terrorists narratives, Dr Borum, psychologist from the University of South Florida, proposes a four-stage development process of the ideology of the terrorists: “The four-stage process begins by framing some unsatisfying event, condition, or grievance (It’s not right) as being unjust (It’s not fair). The injustice is blamed on a target policy, person, or nation (It’s your fault). The responsible party is then vilified-often demonized (You are evil)”.¹¹

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) which is the main terrorist group in Pakistan also shares its worldview with the global religious terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda. TTP’s narrative is similar to the rest of Islamic extremist groups, that appear in TTP’s

narratives are the enforcement of their concocted version of Sharia law as the best political and social system for Pakistan; that Jihad is legal and only option against non-believers, and Pakistani state is “apostate” and ally of non-believers.

The terrorist groups in Balochistan like Balochistan Liberation Army, Balochistan Republican Army, Balochistan Liberation Front, United Baluch Army and others are all nationalist and cessationist in their character. The main theme in their narrative is economic and political discrimination in Balochistan, and liberation war against the “illegal” occupation by Pakistan as just and noble. This narrative is different from the narratives of TTP and other religious groups since all these terrorist groups are ethno-nationalist and secular in character.



Pakistan has successfully dislodged terrorists from tribal agencies and has pacified ethno-nationalist terrorists in Balochistan

Sectarian groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi have a narrow focus. The main narrative revolves around the notion that Shia Muslims are “heretics” (*takfir*) and killing them is not only just but an Islamic duty such as Jihad. The narrative of communal terrorism like attacks on Christians portrays them as apostates and a threat to Islam.

Building a Counter Narrative

Hard and soft power both are used to fight terrorism. But counter-terrorism needs more non-kinetic operations after physically destroying their space. Counter narrative is “the story or counter-argument utilized to reduce the appeal of violent extremism.”¹² Global initiatives of counter narrative are being conducted by various supranational, international, regional, national and sub-national actors. The key actor is the United Nations which has further inspired other institutions like Global Counterterrorism Forum and Hedaya. European Union has also initiated counter-narrative operations. International organizations include North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. There are a number of think tanks as well funded by governments and international organizations to conduct studies and suggest policy recommendations on counter narratives. But most importantly, tech companies like facebook, and youtube have also taken steps to prevent misuse of their social media platforms by extremist and terrorist actors.

Despite all these efforts at the global level there is still problem of unanimity in understanding the meaning of narrative which leads to ambiguity. Counter narratives thus could mean government-led programs, de-radicalization projects, or civil society’s awareness campaigns. There could be a number of audiences like extremists and terrorists, sympathetic population, victim of terrorism or general population at large. Counter narrative can also mean different messages like discrediting

The four-stage process begins by framing some unsatisfying event, condition, or grievance (It’s not right) as being unjust (It’s not fair). The injustice is blamed on a target policy, person, or nation (It’s your fault). The responsible party is then vilified-often demonized (You are evil)

extremists or supporting local communities against the terrorists’ propaganda.

In order to categorize the counter narrative messaging, scholars of security Rachel Briggs and Sebastien Feve have created the “counter-messaging spectrum” which clearly identifies different types of communication.¹³ According to this spectrum there are three types of counter-messages: government strategic communications, alternative narratives, and counter-narratives. Government strategic communications aim to get the message out about what the government is doing including public awareness activities, presenting government policy and strategy in a positive light; this may take the form of a public awareness campaign. It may be achieved through

Counter narratives is “the story or counter-argument utilized to reduce the appeal of violent extremism.”¹⁹ Global initiatives of counter narrative are being conducted by various supranational, international, regional, national and sub-national actors

raising awareness, forging relationships with key constituencies and audiences and correcting misinformation.

Alternative narratives are either undertaken by a government or civil society which aim to undercut violent extremist narratives by focusing on what we are ‘for’ rather than ‘against’ and is done by positive stories about social values, tolerance, openness, freedom and democracy. Lastly, counter narratives are designed to directly deconstruct, discredit and demystify violent extremist messaging by challenge through ideology, logic, fact or humor.¹⁴

Pakistan has successfully dislodged terrorists from tribal agencies and has pacified ethno-nationalist terrorists in Balochistan. On the non-kinetic side of counter-terrorism, Pakistan has taken a number of measures but there is surely more to be desired.

Pakistan’s Counter Narrative

When Pakistan started its fight against terrorism, political and popular will was divided. Extremists’ narrative was flying high. Law

Tech companies like facebook, and youthube have also taken steps to prevent misuse of their social media platforms by extremist and terrorist actors



Alternative narratives are either undertaken by a government or civil society which aim to undercut violent extremist narratives by focusing on what we are ‘for’ rather than ‘against’ and is done by positive stories about social values, tolerance, openness, freedom and democracy

enforcement agencies struggled to win political and popular support to fight terrorist elements. As a result, even kinetic operations were delayed due to its unpopularity and potential political backlash. Counter-terrorism was restricted to kinetic operations by different law enforcement agencies where Pakistan army had the leading role. But all the security agencies lacked effective coordination. There was a need of fusion center of all the security and law enforcement agencies. Pakistan set up National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) in 2009 to synchronize all its counter-terrorism efforts yet the authority did not become functional for several years.

The watershed moment came when terrorists attacked APS in Peshawar on 16 December 2014 killing 150 people including 134 children.¹⁵ The tragic event of APS shocked the whole nation.

Civil society and media has been engaged for counter and alternative narratives. The most recent example is the religious decree against terrorism labeled as Paigham -e- Pakistan (Pakistan’s message). The decree was signed by 1800 religious scholars from different schools of thought

The tragedy galvanized all the political and armed forces to take decisive action against terrorists. The government soon adopted National Action Plan to fight terrorist’s and uproot the evil from society.¹⁶ Constitutional amendments were made to set up military courts to expedite the trial of terrorists. Operations against terrorists were also expedited in North West region of Pakistan. These steps greatly reduced terrorist attacks in Pakistan. TTP was dislodged from its remaining stronghold while intelligence based operations combed the whole country for suspected terrorists and their hidden cells.

Law enforcement agencies were backed by the government, civil society, media and general population. NACTA also got its powers and started to function. There is improved synchronization of counter-terrorism efforts which has achieved positive results. Pakistan also focused on counter-terrorist messaging. The government and military strategic communication initiatives have multiplied. Civil society and media has been

engaged for counter and alternative narratives. The most recent example is the religious decree against terrorism labeled as Paigham-e-Pakistan (Pakistan’s message). The decree was signed by 1800 religious scholars from different schools of thought.¹⁷ Besides, Pakistan also adopted cyber crime law to disrupt terrorist presence on the internet.¹⁸

Despite all these efforts, the government still lacks a unified response of counter narrative. A narrative is good only when it’s simple to understand by the public at large and when people are able to identify with it. The government’s strategic communication is complex and on ad-hoc basis. The efforts of different government agencies have no focal agency which is dedicated to countering narrative, doing research on it and designing narratives in scientific manner. This paper suggests that the government needs to unify all the isolated and un-coordinated efforts of different agencies to effectively develop counter narrative.

Recommendations

In order to counter the terrorists’ narratives, Pakistani government should first of all understand which narratives it wants to address (i.e. narrative of grievance, injustice, Jihad, *takfir* etc). Since Pakistan is facing four types of terrorism i.e. religious, sectarian, communal and ethnic, it should devise different narrative strategies for all these types. Then, it must identify the target audience, define the objective, and develop the content, as well as evaluate the impact of the counter-narrative programs. When the government launches strategic communication there is also a risk of credibility gap with the target audience. As such, the government should take civil society and media as well into its confidence. It should empower civil society for counter messaging.

Pakistan should develop its strategic communication policy. The policy should not only incorporate factual information being transmitted to target audience but it should also appeal to the emotional instinct of the target audience. This strategic communication policy should be solely

Since the info environment is changing fast, the government should also consider adopting Artificial Intelligence to its info operations



The government info operations should include media operations, outreach and engagement activities, psychological operations, deception and distraction from terrorist agenda

for countering terrorists' narrative on all media platforms especially on internet and social media. The government should also consider setting up a centralized unit within NACTA to oversee and coordinate all this work, and employ full range of necessary expertise.

The government should raise awareness regarding threat of terrorism to society through different initiatives. It should correct information being abused by terrorists. The propaganda of terrorists should be thwarted and factual inaccuracy in their propaganda must be pointed out. Disruption of terrorists' messages on all possible media and especially on the internet should be carried out. The government information operations should include media operations, outreach and engagement activities, psychological operations, deception and distraction from terrorist agenda.

To build alternative and counter narratives, Pakistan should support and facilitate civil society efforts to design and deliver alternative narrative campaigns by funding and through in-kind support. It should help streamline private sector engagement with grass-roots civil society networks. Politicians, public figures, celebrities and religious scholars should be encouraged to present alternative narratives. The content of such statements should be positive stories about social and Islamic values, tolerance, and democracy.

Since the information environment is changing fast, the government should also consider adopting artificial intelligence to its information operations. Chatbots or chatter robots are conversation entities, which rely on artificial intelligence to spread information, will be decisive in driving narratives on social media. Chatbots could be used to fight terrorists' propaganda on the internet.

Conclusion

Counter-terrorism consists of both kinetic and non-kinetic operations. Kinetic operations in Pakistan have created an environment where the government can now focus on addressing the root causes of terrorism. The defeat of terrorists' ideology is as important to the winning of war

as their physical destruction. Winning this war hugely depends upon understanding of the terrorists' narrative. Pakistan has initiated several information operations to thwart terrorists' propaganda but all these initiatives are not coordinated and do not flow from single focal point. Despite successes there is much to be done, when it comes to counter narratives. Pakistan has a dedicated counter terrorism authority, NACTA, to be a central location for counter narrative operations. A comprehensive strategic communication strategy needs to be designed, which will be dedicated only to countering narratives of terrorists. Besides, civil society, public figures, religious scholars, academia and media should also be engaged to disseminate alternative and counter narratives.

Dr M Sheharyar Khan is a well acknowledged researcher on FATA, KPK and Afghanistan

Notes

- Schmid, Alex P., "Al-Qaida's Single Narrative and Attempts to Develop Counter - Narratives: The State of Knowledge," The International Centre for Counter Terrorism (ICCT) (January 2014), available at: <https://www.icct.nl/download/file/Schmid-Al-Qaada's-Single-Narrative-and-Attempts-to-Develop-Counter-Narratives-January-2014.pdf>.
- Corman, Steven R., "Understanding the Role of Narrative in Extremist Strategic Communication," in Sarah Canna (ed.), Countering Violent Extremism: Scientific Method and Strategies (Lexington Park, MD: NSI, Inc., 2011), p. 40.
- Ibid
- Jeffrey, R, Halverson HL, Goodall Jr, et al. Master narratives of Islamist extremism.
- Ibid.
- Schmid, Alex P, Al Qaeda's "single narratives" and attempts to develop counter-narratives: The state of knowledge.
- Jeffrey, R, Halverson HL, Goodall Jr, et al. Master narratives of Islamist extremism.
- Schmid, Alex P., Al Qaeda's "single narratives" and attempts to develop counter-narratives: The state of knowledge.
- Zeiger, S. Undermining violent extremist narratives in South East Asia, Available at <http://www.hedayahcenter.org/Admin/Content/File-3182016115528.pdf> Hedayah, Abu Dhabi. [Accessed 21 Aug 2018]
- Ibid.
- Borum, RaWndy. Radicalization into violent extremism II: A review of conceptual models and empirical research. Journal of Strategic Security 2011; 4(4):37-62. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.2>.
- Zeiger, S. Undermining violent extremist narratives in South East Asia.
- Rachel Briggs and Sebastian Feve, "Review of Programs to Counter Narratives of Violent Extremism." Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2011. Available at <https://docplayer.net/4673424-Review-of-programs-to-counter-narratives-of-violent-extremism.html>.
- Ibid.
- Peshawar School Massacre, Britannica.com. Available at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Peshawar-school-massacre>.
- "National Action Plan, 2014 – NACTA – National Counter Terrorism Authority NACTA Pakistan," Available at <https://nacta.gov.pk/nap-2014/>.
- "Govt Unveils Paigham-I-Pakistan Fatwa against Terrorism," DAWN.COM, July 16, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1383306/govt-unveils-paigham-i-pakistan-fatwa-against-terrorism>.
- The Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act 2016, National Assembly of Pakistan, available at http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1470910659_707.pdf.
- Zeiger, S. Undermining violent extremist narratives in South East Asia.

Extending Gratitude Via Communication



SCO made impossible task possible with sheer determination and commitment for the people residing in Azad Jammu & Kashmir & Gilgit-Baltistan. Today these areas are enjoying the telecom revolution that made us proud.

Renewing the resolve to keep bridging these distances across the mountains & rivers, SCO has also launched its state-of-the-art, convenient and secure branch-less banking S-Paisa service. Now, transferring money and payments are easier than ever in these regions.



www.sco.gov.pk

جہاں آپ وہاں ایس سی او

111-SCO-SCO (726-726)



Ahmer Bilal Soofi

LEGAL CHANGES REQUIRED FOR REVIVAL OF THE PAKISTAN ECONOMY

Abstract

In an analysis that I have recently read about the economy of Pakistan, the author was of the opinion that Pakistan's growth must be driven by investment and productivity, which will put an end to the boom and bust cycles that affect the country every few years. He was also of the view that that it was entirely possible for Pakistan to transform its regulatory environment and reduce the cost of doing business. This symptomatic analysis is by and large correct in relation to the economic malaise that currently ails the economy of Pakistan and is routinely confirmed by my daily interaction with the business community and my friends in different walks of life, especially in the civil service of Pakistan. As a lawyer also, I daily confront and observe the legal and judicial process as it unfolds itself in the Courts' proceedings and often come to the realization that in addition to the purely economic wisdom, legal measures for the revival of the economy are crucial. This piece thus is a humble effort to outline corrective remedies that need to be taken by adopting remedial legal solutions.

Keywords: Pakistan, Economy, Regulatory Authority, Cost of Doing Business, DFI, Legal Environment, Legal Measures/Reforms



It is vital to resolve the economic crunch without any unnecessary delay. One method to do this is to reduce the costs of doing business and the time required to actually start business activities. Much delay is caused in obtaining approvals from various regulatory authorities for setting up business infrastructure. This is not however the end of the approval process. Even where everything is ready to be operationalized, more approvals are required for commencement of actual business activities from the regulatory authorities under various laws. This situation is highly discouraging not only for the local business sector but also from the point of view of those who wish to make Direct Foreign Investment (DFI).

An example may suffice to clear the above observation. Modern business is mostly conducted by incorporating a company under the prevailing corporate laws. Certain laws (mining laws etc) even require that no *concession* may be exploited by the licensee except through incorporation of a company. However, section 19 of the Companies Act 2017 imposes onerous conditions on the public companies for commencement of business and for borrowing and raising loans after incorporation of company and setting up of offices. Part XII of the Companies Act deals with “*Foreign Companies*” and obliges them to fulfill various conditions before commencement of business and continuation of the same.

The fundamental requirement to reverse the movement of recession and negative productivity is by taking measures that help in increasing local and foreign investment and boosting productivity

It is therefore suggested that a wholly separate legal regime may be devised for foreign companies for incorporation and commencement of business in order to attract maximum FDI. In addition, present legal provisions applicable to local as well as foreign companies for obtaining several licenses and permissions before and after commencement of business may be simplified and only one person in the provincial and central *Boards of Investment* may be authorized to issue all approvals, permissions and licenses currently required to be obtained from several authorities.

Increasing Investment and Productivity

The fundamental requirement to reverse the movement of recession and negative productivity is by taking measures that help in increasing local and foreign investment and boosting productivity.

Even where everything is ready to be operationalized, more approvals are required for commencement of actual business activities from the regulatory authorities under various laws

Various suggestions requiring legal measures may be made in this regard:

- Regulatory regime under Companies Act 2017 may be simplified and liberalized so that business activities may be undertaken and operationalized with less contact with red tape.
- Powers of provincial and central Boards of Investment may be increased. Instead of making mere suggestions to the Government, the Boards must be empowered to take effective action as the Chief Executives of concerned provinces and the Federal Government and ministers and secretaries of various ministries are members of the respective Boards and once they have resolved to take an action, it need not be referred further to the Federal Government for approval and notification.
- The *Foreign Private Investment (Promotion and Protection) Act 1976* is in need of complete overhauling. This law is now almost 43 years old and does not reflect the realities of international investment environment. A special body of lawyers, expert in international trade, investment and commercial law, need to be appointed to make recommendations to bring various provisions of this law in conformity with modern international investment practices. Unless this law is revised, the likelihood of a substantial increase in FDI appears to be utopian.



- Due to financial constraints experienced by the Federal and Provincial governments, no Keynesian policies may be adopted at governmental level to boost the economy and raise the employment level. What is needed is to encourage the private initiative. In order to achieve this object, legal amendments are required in various laws that govern and regulate business activities, capital markets, stock exchange activities etc. Such amendments are needed which bring the business environment in line with the international standards. This will also encourage the international business players to invest in Pakistan economy.

International standardized codes have greatly helped to bring ease in doing business and have greatly boosted the volume of international business

Coordination Framework under the 18th Amendment

Eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was brought about in 2010. The amendment in its nature is not self-executory but requires further steps by the Federal Government in order to devolve all functions and resources to the provinces that are required to be devolved by the provisions of the 18th amendment.

However, in so far as there are certain subjects such as tourism, local taxes, industry practices, application of labor laws and others of similar kind, which are vital for increase in revenue and growth in economy, require uniform practices for standardized delivery of services. The concept of uniform or standardized practices is applicable in international course of business as well and there are various codes, such as relating to customs, international sale of goods, banking practices etc which have been formulated by various international organizations and are being observed the world over. These international standardized codes have greatly helped to bring ease in doing business and have greatly boosted the volume of international business. Precisely the same types of codes are required in Pakistan after 18th amendment. For this purpose federal laws may be promulgated under various entries in the Federal Legislative List in the Constitution as confirmed by the honorable Supreme Court in its decision “Sui Southern Gas Limited versus Federation of Pakistan” reported as 2018 SCMR 802.

In the above decision of *Sui Southern Gas, Industrial Relations Act of 2012* was challenged on the ground that after passage of the 18th

Region’s growth, while still robust, is mainly driven by domestic demand, which in turn swelled imports and far outstripped exports, further widening trade gaps and current account deficits, and triggering currency depreciation in some countries

amendment, the subject of labor laws became a provincial subject and the Parliament was no more competent to make a law that had for its subject matter the topic of labor laws. Supreme Court did not accept the contention. It was held that “Entry No. 13 of Part II of the Federal Legislative List, which covered “Inter-provincial matters and co-ordination” also provided legislative authority to the Federal legislature to enact laws relating to inter-provincial matters/trade unions. Moreover Entry No. 18 of Part II of the said List enlarged the scope of Entry No. 13. Federal legislature had the competence to legislate in relation to establishments/trade unions functioning at the Federal as well as trans-provincial level. Industrial Relations Act 2012 was therefore, validly enacted by the Parliament.”

Export Oriented Legal Changes

The World Bank, in its Report issued in 2019 “South Asia Economic Focus, Exports Wanted” has pithily observed that “the Region’s growth, while still robust, is mainly driven by domestic demand, which in turn swelled imports and far outstripped exports, further widening trade gaps and current account deficits, and triggering currency depreciation in some countries”. I agree with this observation and am suggesting below certain measures which require immediate attention of the Government and the Parliament.





In order to compete in the International Market, it is a must that encouragement should be provided to the local export industry as is the practice world over. Present time is the time of the World Trade Organization regime. According to this regime, all nations are required to observe international competitive policies at national and international level. However, developing countries like Pakistan have been allowed exemptions in some fields of trade where they are allowed to adopt measures which usually are prohibited to other nations as they distort the competition principle. It is suggested that Pakistan must introduce laws to make those exempted industries export oriented and in this connection a team of lawyers who are expert in international laws alongwith industry experts may be commissioned to recommend draft laws in this respect. By encouraging the exempted industries through subsidies, tax concessions, customs related relaxations and protections, the exempted industries may be promoted as export oriented and the ever existing shortage of foreign exchange may be met. This will also reduce frequent resort to international lending institutions.

Reforms in Judiciary

Unless speedy legal reforms are brought in the judicial organ of the State, economic growth will continue to suffer and stagnate.

Thousands of acres of land lies locked as the title is not clear since it is under litigation for a

prolonged period of time. Likewise, hundreds of commercial suits and proceedings are undecided for a long period of time and the subject matter of such suits or proceedings have ceased to be an active part of economy. It is needed that such proceedings be decided with all due dispatch so that the economic resources may be used gainfully in the economic activities.

There are around 8000 federal and provincial laws that govern different sectors of the economy. After devolution through eighteenth amendment, the domain of the provinces has considerably extended and it is upto the provinces to take decisions about the revival of economy.

An efficient and competent judiciary is a sine qua non for the assurance that a country is under rule of law. The international businessmen highly prize a country where the judiciary is independent, competent and delivery of justice is speedy. Various reforms in judiciary related laws are necessary for strengthening the working and independence of the lower and higher echelons of the Courts. In this regard, the Courts at both higher and lower level should be empowered through appropriate laws and with financial independence. Further, it is required that the lower Courts be completely made independent pursuant to the mandate of Article 175 (3) of the Constitution and decisions of Supreme Court in this regard. Hitherto, more attention is given to conferring independence on the higher judiciary than on the lower Courts; this discrimination must be brought to an end.

There are around 8000 federal and provincial laws that govern different sectors of economy. After devolution through eighteenth amendment, the domain of the provinces has considerably extended and it is upto the provinces to take decisions about the revival of economy

Another simmering and chronic problem is the delay in the delivery of justice. Cases especially relating to fiscal, commercial and property matters keep on pending for indefinite periods. This produces a jamming and retrograde effect upon business, investment, industrial and banking activities. One of the main hindrances in the way of economic revival is delay in decision of cases relating to fiscal, business and property matters. The remedy lies in not only amending law to the effect that cases of aforesaid nature must be

Almost 35% of litigation is frivolous in nature and can be avoided by providing legal provisions/ measures such as penalties, costs and damages

decided on priority basis in a time bound frame but it is also suggested that an independent forum must be established by law to monitor whether the mandate of deciding such cases on priority and time bound basis is being observed or not. Establishment of such forum is of utmost necessity as earlier provisions in laws to decide cases and appeals (in corporate, banking and other laws) within a time bound frame have produced no effect and corporate, banking cases remain pending for years. Such forum must have effective legal powers to oversee the swift disposal of cases of commercial nature and where failure is observed, sanctions need to be applied in order to produce compliance.

One reason for pending of a large number of cases is frivolous litigation. It is estimated that almost 35% of litigation is frivolous in nature and can be avoided by providing legal provisions which by prescribing legal measures such as penalties, costs and damages, will lessen the institution of frivolous litigation.

Another reason for delay in decision of cases is large number of cases on the daily docket of the judges. This naturally induces a judge to suffer unnecessary adjournments in the cases. One solution is to legally increase the number of judges which will reduce the burden of cases on each judge. The other solution is to curb the practice of seeking and allowing of adjournments and in this regard both the counsels and the Courts need to be legally controlled. A further reason for delay is corruption in courts which makes it easy to get adjournments by various ploys. This aspect of the matter should also be taken care of and legal reform should also address the same.

Functioning of Statutory Bodies/ Public Sector Organizations

Public statutory bodies have their genesis in the vision that flexible methods are required for swift service delivery. To this effect, red tape

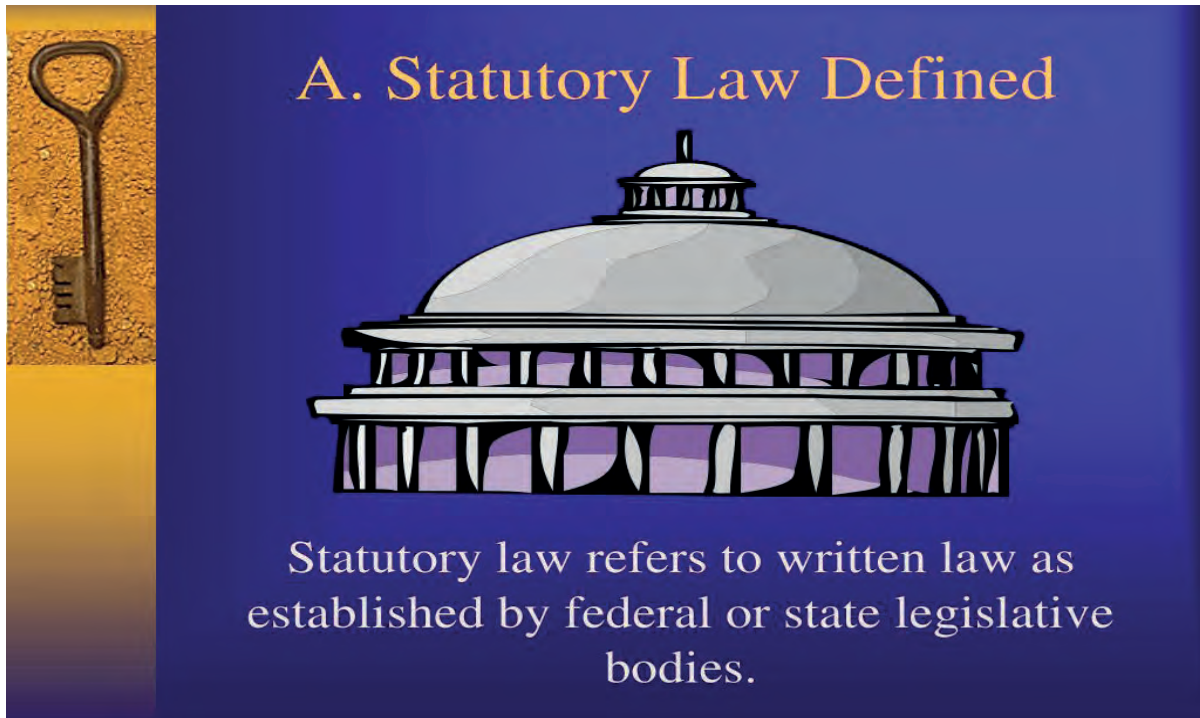


is avoided by means of allowing maximum autonomy to a public statutory body. For this purpose a governing body usually called a board of management or directors is established within the statutory body which is vested with powers to take almost all the decisions relating to the policy matters and functioning of the body subject to the provisions of the parent statute. It is undeniable that government has always been allowed some limited policy interference in the statutory body but in case of statutory bodies in Pakistan, it is common observation that they are routinely plagued with unnecessary interference by the executive thereby hindering their smooth functioning and efficiency and reducing them to the status of government departments.

Statutory bodies be allowed to be run in the spirit in which they were conceived without undue executive interference

A case in point is Pakistan Railways. Pakistan Railways was established as a corporation through Railways Act 1890. A ministry has been working in the Cabinet for administration of Railway affairs. It was however considered desirable to entrust the railways affairs to an independent body and for this purpose provisions were made for establishment of an independent Board through promulgation of Railways Board Ordinance 1959 which was later repealed but the Board was retained through executive notification. The Board was reconstituted in 2015. However, undue interference in the working and administration of the Board has been made from time to time and it has not been allowed to function according to the spirit in which it was created. The results are too obvious to be mentioned.

The same story may be narrated of Pakistan International Airlines which was created through promulgation of Pakistan International Airlines Corporation Act 1956 and later converted into an



incorporated company through promulgation of Pakistan International Airlines Corporation (conversion) Act 2016. However, it has not been allowed to act according to its mandate through the agency of its Board of Directors and executive interference has been rampant.

The National Bank of Pakistan was established through National Bank of Pakistan Ordinance 1949 as a premiere commercial bank also dealing with government accounts. Major shareholder of the Bank is the Federal Government but a Central Board was provided in the parent statute to take care of all affairs of bank independently of government interference in order to run the bank on commercial lines. Undue governmental influence however has been extensive and there had been episodes of governmental sway brought to bear upon the decisions of the Board to issue loans of colossal amount in violation of prudent practices and later writing them off. Further, terms and conditions of the staff are statutory which provide them opportunity to file cases in superior courts which result in inefficiency and blockade in the functioning of the bank.

It is therefore strongly recommended that statutory bodies be allowed to be run in the spirit in which they were conceived without undue executive interference. The executive influence

not only mars their efficiency but ultimately makes them moribund. Such interference also results in the public sector organization running in colossal losses which are ultimately to be borne none other than by the executive itself. Pakistan Steel Mill is a case in point.

Using Law as Innovative Tool for Business Expansion

Innovative approaches by using legal tools for business development may be employed. Hitherto, less attention has been paid to this creative aspect of law for the purposes of economic revival and business enhancement. In this regard, the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) may play a critical role in enhancing business activities and encouraging industrial development.

The FBR may issue a notification under appropriate law declaring that within an area of hundred miles along the Durand Line, businessmen and industrialist taking business and industrial initiatives shall be granted exemptions from certain taxes with regard to import and export of machinery, excise duty, sales tax etc for a period of five years.

FBR can also motivate and incentivize local and foreign businessmen by issuing an SRO

The FBR may issue a notification under appropriate law declaring that within an area of hundred miles along the Durand Line, businessmen and industrialist taking business and industrial initiatives shall be granted exemptions from certain taxes with regard to import and export of machinery, excise duty, sales tax etc for a period of five years



under appropriate law to the effect that certain tax compliant companies, that may be mentioned in the annexure to SRO, in case of bringing joint ventures FDI in Pakistan, alongwith their foreign partners, will be granted tax breaks and tax holidays. It may further be declared in the SRO that repatriation of investment and profits made by the joint venture is fully assured.

The current mode of bringing FDI in the country needs rehauling. Under the existing regime, the FDI can only be brought through government channels and normally investment is made on government land. Such mode of investment involves a lot of red tape and is not suitable to woo the much required FDI in Pakistan. The result is that though the foreign businessmen is provided personal approach to the Prime Minister, yet given the legal regime for making investment, he often turns back dissatisfied and disillusioned.

NAB Law

The NAB law relates to the accountability of the Public office holders. But it has been administered in a way that has caused fear and alarm among the civil servants and the businessmen. The effect of such administration of law is that both civil servants and businessmen are reluctant to take decisions and initiate projects related to public welfare and revival of economy. This has caused

much damage to the already precarious economic conditions. I propose that NAB law needs to be adjusted to the requirements of the present times.

Present section 9 (a) (v) and (vi) of NAB law relate to the offences of “asset beyond means” and “misuse of authority”. Presently, both are considered separate for the purposes of investigation, inquiry and trial. However, in order to dispel the fear and alarm as indicated above, it is required that offence of “misuse of authority” for the purposes of investigation, inquiry and trial, should only be taken up when it is coupled with the charge of “asset beyond means”. In short, the offence of “misuse of authority” should not be by itself a subject of investigation, inquiry or trial unless it is accompanied by the charge of “asset beyond means”. For this purpose, the law should be amended suitably. However, if amendment in law is not possible, then another mode is suggested below to achieve the same aim.

The Supreme Court has ample power and jurisdiction to re-interpret section 9 and make the two offences co-exist for the purposes of investigation or filing of the reference under the NAB law. The Supreme Court can also rehabilitate the civil servants’ traditional indemnity. The Supreme Court has undertaken such exercise in several cases where public policy demanded to discourage a specific existing interpretation of





law and curbing the misuse of it in public interest. In this regard the case of *Muhammad Mubeen us Salam vs Federation of Pakistan* (PLD 2006 SC 602) may be referred where Supreme Court reinterpreted the provisions of section 2-A of the Services Tribunal Act 1973 and thereby made hundreds of cases pending in the Federal Services Tribunal lapse. At that time the employees of public sector organizations had filed hundreds of cases in the Service Tribunal for specific performance of their employment contracts which involved the government in unnecessary litigation. Furthermore; a lot of expenses were involved in pursuing litigation and carrying out of Tribunal's decisions. Such litigation also severely affected the working of the public sector organizations and discharge of public duties and delivery of public services. The decision of Supreme Court went a long way in rectifying the situation as amendment in section 2-A was not possible under the prevailing political pressures.

In conclusion, we summarize the above discussion as below:

- For the revival of the economy, innovative legal tools and solutions need to be employed.

- Judicial reforms as suggested above need to be introduced.
- Reforms should be introduced for providing ease in doing businesses and reducing the cost of doing business.
- Laws regarding the local investment and FDI need to be overhauled by a committee of expert lawyers.
- Statutory bodies must be allowed to function without executive interference.
- Export oriented legal changes and role of FBR needs to be further highlighted.
- Regulatory regime for investment and business needs to be reformed and liberal regime needs to be introduced including revision of NAB law.

Barrister Ahmer Bilal Soofi is former Federal Law Minister, Advocate Supreme Court of Pakistan and President Research Society of International Law, Pakistan



Strength Through Self Reliance



Bullet Proof
Land Cruiser
B6 Level Protection



Bullet Proof
Altis Car
B6 Level Protection



ASV Mohafiz-IV
B6 Level
Protection



APC TALHA
PROTECTION
AGAINST 12.7mm



BULLET PROOF
JACKET
NIJ LEVEL III/IV



AGP BUNKER
B6/B7 LEVEL
PROTECTION



LAV MOHAFIZ
B6 LEVEL
PROTECTION



ASV PROTECTOR
B7 LEVEL
PROTECTION



HEAVY INDUSTRIES TAXILA

Tel: 051-9315333 Ext(62915), Fax: 051-9315029

www.hit.gov.pk

FORMALIZING PAKISTAN'S INFORMAL ECONOMY



Dr Zafar Mahmood

Abstract

A major challenge being faced by Pakistan is formalizing its informal economy. This is a multifaceted challenge as informality is a multidimensional phenomenon due to the heterogeneity of firms working in the informal economy. Informality has undeniably undesirable implications for the economy and society. It, indeed is a major hurdle to the advancement of socio-economic development of the country. It is increasing, which reveals fast deterioration of the governance system. Therefore, it is urgent and important to formalize the informal economy. Depending on the coverage, the informal sector reportedly is equivalent to about 50-90% of the GDP in the formal sector. About 60% of the total employed workforce is engaged in the informal sector. Most of the enterprises in the informal sector are envisaged to be either household-based or small-scale. But, in reality, large-scale enterprises, that are registered and documented, also have hidden parts—about 40-50% of their production and assets—from regulatory authorities, including the tax department. Due to different sizes and activities, different strategies and policies need to be devised to formalize the informal economy. Policies to promote and induce formalization should also address the issues of productivity through skill development and innovation, ease-of-doing business and reduction in cost-of-doing business, anti-informality bias in policies, etc. Key aspects of the strategic policy reform should also include simplification of administrative procedures for business registration by small enterprises, the development of adequate taxation regulations, creation of incentives related to social security protection, the strengthening of information and inspection systems and elimination of the menace of under-invoicing of imports. For enterprises, it is important that the transformation to formality makes them a good business sense. For Pakistan, it is vital to capitalize on the potential of the informal sector for realizing sustained stimulation of economic growth, giving way for increased government spending on infrastructures development and higher quality social welfare programs. Conscientious spending by the government, in turn, will create a sense of trust, for tax collected will ultimately be utilized for the welfare of tax payees, thereby, stimulating the business sentiments for further growth and documentation of the economy.

Keywords: *Informal Economy, Formal Economy, Documentation, Strategic Policy Directions*

Pakistan's economy is the 38th largest in the world in terms of the gross domestic product (GDP). Pakistan has a population of 213 million (the world's 5th-largest), providing it a per capita income of \$1,497.3 (in 2018-19), which ranks it as the 147th country in the world. These figures largely represent the formal economy and are grossly under-reported. This is because, in addition to the formal economy, Pakistan has a large informal¹ economy, which is undocumented² and is not reported in the official data. Official unemployment rate is 5.8%, which does not corroborate with the widespread underemployment of labour.³

Informality is basically the outcome of insufficiency of legislations and legal procedures to facilitate the establishment of formal enterprises, the declining role of the government in creating new jobs⁴, rising unemployment, growing rural-urban migration, gender discrimination and poverty. Concomitantly, the growth in the informal economy is also associated with tertiarization of the economy, in general, as manifested in the growth of jobs in the services sector and a decline in formal manufacturing jobs due to deindustrialization.⁵

The informal economy contains all those economic activities that are not reported or included in the National Income Accounts. These include both legal and illegal economic activities

Formal enterprises are required to obtain start-up licenses, construction permits, property registration requirements, compliance with labour and other laws, etc. They pay taxes and comply with government regulations thus bear the brunt of high cost-of-doing business, as a result they lose price competitiveness vis-a-vis informal enterprises. Consequently, customers of formal enterprises shift toward either foreign goods or goods produced by competing informal enterprises. Under this situation, in order to remain in the business, the formal enterprises also indulge into illegal activities and start hiding a part of their sales and production from tax and other regulatory authorities. This is happening because enforcement of laws is lax; consequently, benefits from informality become greater than their costs.

Transitioning of the economy towards formality can bring enormous benefits by establishing the rule of law and the equality of rights between entrepreneurs and workers

Informality is basically the outcome of insufficiency of legislations and legal procedures to facilitate the establishment of formal enterprises

Hence, rational and formal decision-makers are also being lured into informal/ hidden activities.

The informal sector's disproportionate size in Pakistan, thus, is an outcome of weaknesses in the governance of state institutions and lack of respect for the law that is rooted in low entrepreneurial capacities, and low financial, technological and human resources, which mutually cause low productivity.⁶ The informal sector thus constrains overall economic growth and limits the creation of high quality and durable jobs; workers employed there have no social security protection and have limited career and upward mobility opportunities.

All in all, the informality of enterprises is a complicated phenomenon and poses serious policy challenges to the government, including its inability to raise tax revenue and regulate them. Nonetheless, transitioning of the economy towards formality can bring enormous benefits by establishing the rule of law and the equality of rights between entrepreneurs and workers. Formalization would help enterprises to grow and achieve scale economies and efficiency. Consequentially, the additional revenues generated by expanding the tax net would create fiscal space for lowering existing tax rates and enable the government to invest more on social sectors and rebuilding degraded institutional capacity.

Within the above perspective, this paper provides strategic policy reform directions to formalize the informal economy.



The current exporter registration process for a sole-proprietorship or partnership involves...



Rest of the paper is divided into seven sections. Section 2 defines various forms of informality in Pakistan. Section 3 describes the stylized facts about the informal sector of Pakistan. Section 4 identifies costs of formalization of the economy. Benefits from formalization are reported in section 5. Possible strategic options to formalize the informal economy are discussed in section 6. Strategic policy reform directions to formalize the informal economy are given in Section 7. Finally, section 8 concludes the paper.

Defining Informality for Pakistan

There is no unanimity among experts on one single definition of the informal economy. The informal economy contains all those economic activities that are not reported or included in the National Income Accounts.⁷ These include both legal and illegal economic activities. While, all of the informal sector activities are not “black market” operations; similarly, not all of the formal sector activities are lawful. Gray areas do exist everywhere. Informal activities can be described as applying limited compliance with legal and procedural requirements. Essentially, what prevails in the informal sector is a middle ground where certain registration prerequisites are met at the municipality level, while tax obligations are often ignored and compliance with Labour laws is not observed. This situation, however, is also found in formal activities due to weak fiscal discipline. Evidently, in Pakistan, complete illegality is non-existent, but limited legality is abundant. The

definition is based on what aspect a researcher intends to study; for example, tax evasion, labour absorption, poverty, etc.

Three main components of the informal economy that I define here are:-

- Apart of the informal economy comprises of ‘un-registered and undocumented’ establishments with the tax and other authorities such as household-based and small-scale firms. These enterprises are, however, normally registered with Municipalities, contrary to the general perception that they are not registered by any government authority. It is pertinent to note that every shop in a town and even a push cart has a registration number, issued by Town Municipality. Of course, not all of them are registered with the tax department. These enterprises are engaged in the production of goods and services with the key objective of generating employment and income but not necessarily with the deliberate intention of evading the tax payments or other legal/administrative provisions. They typically operate at a low level of organization and with labour relations mostly based on periodic employment. Expenditures for production activity of household-based firms are often indistinguishable from the household expenditures. These enterprises as such cannot engage in transactions or enter contracts with others nor incur financial liabilities.⁸ They, however, provide unfair

Formal enterprises indulge into illegal activities? I have observed that such firms are usually not competitive in the market mainly due to lack of ease-of-doing business and high cost-of-doing business in the country. Thus, by evading taxes and avoiding regulations, they improve their competitive position and survive



Informal enterprises in Pakistan hesitate to register and document themselves mainly because of their 'trust deficit' with tax and other regulatory authorities, owing to lack of resources to deal with them

competition to law abiding formal firms. Such enterprises normally do not have capacity to document with the tax department.

- Another major part of the informal economy is comprised of legal/formal enterprises (manufacturers and service-providers) who do not fully document themselves and hide a certain proportion of their economic activities from the tax and other regulatory authorities to evade taxes and social security contributions. It is observed that such enterprises report only a part of their sales to tax authority; of course, with the connivance of tax functionaries. As such, their hidden part remains in the informal economy. Such firms are often involved in under-invoicing of imports to evade import taxes. This, in turn, helps them to under-report their installed production capacity; consequently, for the entire life of the enterprise they evade income tax, sales tax, excise duty, social security contributions, pilfer utility bills, etc. All this is done with connivance of government functionaries. Foreign remittances channeled through Hundi/Hawala system and under-invoiced exports are largely used to finance under-invoicing of imports. One of my studies⁹ estimates that only with China in the year 2017 \$4.7 billion worth of imports were under-invoiced that were largely financed through Hundi/Hawala system and partly through under-invoicing of exports. Overtime (1972 to 2013) my study¹⁰ estimates that reverse capital flight to Pakistan was about \$30 billion that mostly went to the informal economy of Pakistan's economy.
- Interestingly, sales taxes are collected by these firms from their customers on behalf of the tax authority but are not fully passed on

to it. Ironically, both domestic and foreign corporate enterprises are engaged in this practice. Foreign firms also hide a part of their plant capacity for the same purpose. They repatriate a part of their profit earned in their undocumented segment through their practice known as 'transfer pricing mechanism'. Through this mechanism foreign firms buy imported inputs and parts from their parent company at a very high price as compared to their actual international price with the connivance of customs staff. In this way they transfer their hidden profits through legal channels, which creates informality and a heavy burden on the current account balance.

- Why formal enterprises indulge into illegal activities? I have observed that such firms are usually not competitive in the market mainly due to lack of ease-of-doing business and high cost-of-doing business in the country. Thus, by evading taxes and avoiding regulations, they improve their competitive position and survive.

The size of the informal economy, covering unregistered small & household establishments, is estimated to be in the range of 30-50 percent of the formal economy's GDP with about 60% of the total employed workforce working in the informal economy

- Lastly, the informal economy is also comprised of firms engaged in black marketing, smuggling of all sorts, other illegal activities, etc.¹¹ All such underground activities by their very nature evade taxes and other contributions. Given the nature of such enterprises, perhaps, they will always remain underground, lest they are detected and eliminated.

Stylized Facts about Informality

Informal enterprises in Pakistan hesitate to register and document themselves mainly because of their 'trust deficit' with tax and other regulatory authorities, owing to lack of resources to deal





The quantum of withholding tax is sharply rising, which is unprecedented because of un-documentation (non-filer) of the large proportion of the economy and invisible (Benami) business transactions

with them. Moreover, when tax rates are high and enforcement is lax, it induces informality in the economy. Beside taxes, stringent regulations, especially, social security contributions also encourage informality. In particular, labour market regulations¹² increase labour cost and thus firms opt to remain unregistered and undocumented. The required approval from too many authorities, heavy paperwork for documentation, compliance with regulatory requirements and pervasive corrupt practices are some other reasons for businesses to not register.

Besides regulations, a key reason for the persistent growth in the informal economy is legally available *Bearer* finance schemes and financial instruments such as Foreign Exchange Bearer Certificates, Prize Bond Schemes, Foreign Currency Accounts¹³ (where no questions are asked about the source of foreign currency deposited), gross under-reporting of property values etc. All these instruments are also the sources of informality because they are exempt from the obligations and reporting requirements.

Given the varied nature, it is difficult to measure the size of the informal economy with precision. Estimates of the informal economy are available from published studies that are only indicative of the situation. Nevertheless, these estimates portray an alarming situation, because they show that the informal economy is not only large but is growing.

The size of the informal economy, covering unregistered small & household establishments is estimated to be in the range of 30-50 percent of the formal economy's GDP^{14 & 15} with about 60% of the total employed workforce working in the informal economy.¹⁶ Another study¹⁷ estimated the size of the informal economy to be about 90% of the formal economy using the Household Income-Expenditure Survey data and adjusted it by the discrepancy to official GDP using present author's estimates¹⁸ of trade mis-invoicing. This study thus covers all segments of the informal economy, i.e., both unregistered-undocumented establishments and registered-undocumented establishments. It can be inferred from these estimates that over 40% of registered firms hide their sales and other economic activities from tax and other regulatory authorities.

An indicator to measure the level of formal employment is the percentage of employees covered in the pension schemes. In Pakistan, only 5.4% of the employed workers are affiliated with pension schemes, which implies that only a small number of workers are part of the formal economy. Paradoxically, not all the formal enterprises give pension coverage to all of their workers. Moreover, only about 25% of residents maintain an account with a formal banking institution, another indicator of informality.¹⁹

It needs to be underscored that the quantum of withholding tax is sharply rising, which is unprecedented because of un-documentation (non-filer) of the large proportion of the economy and invisible (*Benami*) business transactions.²⁰ This reveals the weak compliance with tax laws in Pakistan. In the tax year 2017, the number of return filers was 1.81 million, which came down to 1.552 million in the tax year 2018. Thus, over 258,000 individuals who were part of the FBR's Active Taxpayers List (ATL) did not pay taxes, perhaps they have moved into the informal economy.²¹ In the latest drive on the basis of Assets Declaration Scheme (2019), about 2.2 million individuals are now registered with the tax authority, which still is significantly less than the potential tax payers.

Different segments of the economy are incompatible in terms of their sophistication, competitiveness and productivity. The informal economy is highly uncompetitive and pushes the overall economy behind low-productivity barrier. For instance, informal establishments find it difficult to obtain credit from domestic financial institutions, face a greater intensity of corruption and bureaucratic requirements. They are unable to produce products with the quality demanded by high income consumers. Thus, with the informal economy estimated to be nearly as large as the formal economy, the country's ability to move forward is severely hampered.

From the informal activities, the country is losing on five counts: (i) the loss of growth, informal enterprises prefer to remain small because otherwise they will be detected and will have to abide by many laws and regulations to operate; (ii) the loss of tax revenue due to tax evasion by such informal enterprises; (iii) creation of unhealthy competition for formal enterprises

Gross under-reporting of property values, negligible tax collection of agriculture income, and no reporting or under-reporting of income by businesses, add to the undocumented economy

who become at disadvantage when they have to pay taxes and other charges; (iv) production of low quality and low value-added products because informal enterprises can not avail opportunities through official channels for skill development, innovation, and credit; and (v) smallness does not allow informal enterprises to join the global supply and value chains and hence are not directly engaged in international trade activities.

Gross under-reporting of property values, negligible tax collection of agriculture income and no reporting or under-reporting of income by businesses, add to the undocumented economy. The informal economy is causing unplanned demand pressures on public services, inefficient allocation of resources, and distortion of the incentive structure; thus they are adversely affecting the growth trajectory of the economy.

A large informal sector usually reflects substantial government revenue losses as a result of tax evasion. This would likely lead to a lower level and quality of social services in the country

where they transact with each other and cash remains the only instrument of their transactions.

Critics consider, the informal economy as a major problem restricting economic growth and development. This is because they are largely comprised of small enterprises producing low value-added goods. Employees are paid lower wages and are not formally trained. They are, however,



Informality is a structural weakness that is growing over the time as public institutions have become weaker. Past governments have attempted to eradicate this problem through largely administrative measures by forcing formal firms to do business only with registered firms. At present, real estate, manufacturing, trade and other services are all having large informal segments

Informal entrepreneurs are mostly uneducated and unproductive, producing low-quality products and add negligible value to products they produce

trained on-the-job through apprenticeship (*Ustad-Shagird*) system. Informal enterprises generally manage themselves less efficiently than their counterparts in the formal sector. The informal sector is a limitation to prospects of the national economy as the firms evade taxes, employees are not covered in social security schemes and workers are not protected through the enforcement of Labour Law. Nevertheless, given the overall level of socio-economic development, the proponents view them as the backbone of the economy and as a first step for economic development.

Informal entrepreneurs are mostly uneducated and unproductive, producing low-quality products and add negligible value to products they produce. Within this perspective, economic development



comes about when formal establishments expand as the economy grows, to eventually displace informal establishments.²²

Low productivity in the informal sector enterprises is mainly due to low level of the human capital of the entrepreneurs who run them; consequently, the education level of their employed workers is also low. Other interesting facts are that it is not the government regulations that keep informal establishments behind, it is their low productivity, and the fact that informal enterprise rarely attempts to graduate to formal enterprise because they prefer to subsist to survive in an economic space of their own choice.²³ Besides, when operating informally, firms are likely to maintain small-scale operations in order to decrease the probability of regulatory authorities' detection.²⁴

Cost of Informality to the Economy

A large informal sector usually reflects substantial government revenue losses as a result of tax evasion. This would likely lead to a lower level and quality of social services in the country.²⁵ Such a scenario usually induce government to increase the tax burden on the formal sector to compensate for tax losses. Poor public services and an excessive tax burden irritate formal businesses and decrease their trust in public institutions, as they see little benefit to paying taxes. This discourages informal enterprises to join the formal sector, leading to a vicious cycle of expanding the informal sector and low provision of social services.²⁶ Highlighting the negative economic impact of informality a study²⁷ empirically shows that economic growth is lower in countries with a larger informal sector because informality restricts growth of industries. Studies also highlight the negative impact of an expanding informal sector on productivity as they lack economies-of-scale by their very design. In this context, a World Bank study²⁸ examines productivity differences between formal and informal Turkish businesses and finds that in manufacturing, the productivity for formal firms is 50% higher than for informal ones.

Lack of access to banking credit, due to insufficient collateral, tends to impede expansion of informal businesses. In addition, a larger informal sector renders monetary policy ineffective as informal firms are less connected to the financial system. This is also true regarding the fiscal side, i.e., decreasing the tax rate might have a less stimulatory effect on economic growth, and

While informality is rejected for evading taxes. Formalization is not without pain, it can have serious political and social ramifications, if not managed properly

Growing informality undermines the sustainability of businesses and diminishes opportunities to create decent jobs and is therefore harmful to the interests of both employers and workers

increasing the tax rate might have a less restraining effect on growth or inflation, due to excessive tax evasion by the informal enterprises.²⁹

Furthermore, a larger informal sector tends to impose social costs. This is because, informal workers normally operate in a poor working conditions receiving lower pay and social security protection.³⁰ This is especially true when government's enforcements of laws and regulations is lax.

Benefits of Formalization

Growing informality undermines the sustainability of businesses and diminishes opportunities to create decent jobs and is therefore harmful to the interests of both employers and workers. In this context, the benefits of formalization are to: (i) increase the welfare of workers and opportunities for decent jobs; (ii) reduce unfair competition between formal and informal enterprises arising from tax or regulatory arbitrage; and (iii) expand tax revenues that can be used to support social safety nets and social works.

The large informal economy, whereas reduces poverty, is a binding constraint on economic growth because it retards scale economies. Thus, strengthening the business climate through ease-of-doing business and reduction in cost-of-doing business can contribute to reduce informality and raise inclusiveness.

The potential positive effects from formalization are clear, both for workers and for the economy itself. For enterprises, it can lead to higher profits, better access to improved technology, reduced taxes and less corruption. For workers, it may lead to improved access to decent work conditions through the enforcement of Labour Laws and access to social security protection.

To obtain benefits from formalization, the government needs to avoid enforcement of strict anti-informality legal frameworks, formalization campaign purely on the basis of enforcement that lacks a supportive regulatory framework is bound to generate unemployment and low growth. As such, the government needs to take into consideration all likely hurdles, implications and



Creating a single authority would further facilitate the dissemination of information, avoid overlapping and contradictory regulations and streamline administrative procedures and oversight efforts

reactions of the system and design tailor-made strategies for formalization that are in line with the local context.

While informality is rejected for evading taxes. Formalization is not without pain, it can have serious political and social ramifications if not managed properly. Therefore, structural policies designed to promote formality should be implemented with great care, aimed at encouraging formalization rather than explicitly discouraging informal activity. This is because, informal firms are skeptical about policies that would tax, regulate or impose additional costs on them because that would drive them out of business and further increase poverty.

Strategic Options for Formalization

A first possible strategic option is to design a provisional regulatory system different from the existing one that is being applied on formal enterprises. This should involve the adoption of a preferential regime at least for short-term (1-2 years) whereby informal enterprises voluntarily register themselves. Once they are registered bring them in the tax net, then gradually tax them starting with lower rates and ensuring that taxes collected from them are used for social welfare schemes in their locality and community and are not misappropriated. In the first few years don't scrutinize small informal enterprises by initiating audit and inquiries. Such an approach may, however, be opposed due to its adverse fiscal implications in the short-run. A distinction allowed by the law even temporarily would not stem tax evasion and the system would be misused as before.

A second strategic option is the adaptation of formalization prerequisites to bring them closer to the capabilities of informal enterprises. That is, by simplifying bureaucratic procedures to contain access barriers to formality. This approach would minimize the cost of formalization, especially for smaller enterprises. Creating a single authority would further facilitate the dissemination of information, avoid overlapping and contradictory regulations and streamline administrative procedures and oversight efforts. A single Business ID Number should be introduced, which would be shared among different government agencies.

The intended benefit of this policy would be to reduce the burden of bureaucracy and reduce administrative costs.

Strategic Policy Reform Directions for Formalization of Informal Economy

Given the heterogeneous nature of informal activities, the strategic policy reform directions that Pakistan needs to take to formalize its informal economy may include the following:

Simplification of Start-up Procedures.

With the aim to foster competitiveness for stimulating industrial growth, there is a need to streamline administrative procedures and improve the conditions for start-up. Specifically, the procedures involved should make obtaining of business operation licenses from municipality registrar and other regulatory bodies simple and fast. Complicated and lengthy procedures for obtaining approvals create bureaucratic hurdles. It is therefore important to remove hurdles by simplifying procedures through: (i) making adjustments in the laws that remove complications and ensure government functionaries facilitate approvals, (ii) introduction of one-stop operation for receiving permits by streamlining process; and (iii) engaging the private sector associations in debates regarding adjustments to the laws to make informed decisions. Simplification of the regulatory environment will greatly help to formalize undocumented sectors, which in turn will pay huge dividends in the form of revenues, level playing field between enterprises, greater capacity to promote the efficient economy, the rule of law, and guarantees of property rights and contract enforcement.

Establishing a Business in a Single Day.

Introduce a new platform '*Establishing Business in a Single Day*', managed by the city municipalities. The aim of this platform would be to streamline the business start-up processes to encourage *would be* informal businesses to formalize. Firms presently operating in the informal sector should be encouraged to modify their legal status into sole proprietorship or limited liability companies. Registration through this platform should require simply filling out a digital form rather than lengthy and cumbersome procedures, it should be made free of cost. Once registered, the company should automatically obtain a tax identification number and start its operations. The success of

A basic step in the formalization of informal enterprises is ensuring documentation with the municipality registrar that should then register the firm with the tax department



The government needs to promote the cashless economy by introducing another platform 'Digital Pakistan' to bring businesses into the formal sector

such a platform would depend on the facilitation system developed by the municipality managed by qualified persons.

Streamline Taxation. A basic step in the formalization of informal enterprises is ensuring documentation with the municipality registrar that should then register the firm with the tax department. Most of these enterprises consider direct registration with the tax department as the main hurdle to formalize because tax registration and administration is complex and costly. Then, they do not see any clear benefit in return. Therefore, the government needs to simplify tax procedures and reduce the cost-of-doing business for enterprises when working formally. The simplified tax regime should exempt all small and home-based enterprises from the obligation to produce detailed profit and loss statements, containing inventories, amortization records, etc. Exempt them from making monthly/quarterly provisional tax payments to improve their cash flow as they usually work on the credit basis—some of them receive payments after crop harvest. The system should allow both maintaining of accounting records in electronic format and keeping their own income and expenditure books. The FBR portal should offer registered firms a software free of cost that allows them to record their transactions, obtain financial statements, and generate tax declarations automatically. Ensure simple and single e-filing and e-payment of all

taxes and contributions.³¹ Building trust between FBR and the taxpayer is the main challenge. This should be built through automation and using Artificial Intelligence (AI), minimizing contact between tax staff and taxpayer, and by promoting a voluntary compliance. Government should also establish tax filing facilitation centers for those informal enterprises who cannot use e-filing and e-payment systems.

Expanding the Tax Net. Technology is fast introducing a change. It is enabling the entry of informal enterprises into the formal economy. The government needs to promote the cashless economy by introducing another platform 'Digital Pakistan' to bring businesses into the formal sector. The government needs to make remaining in the informal economy unattractive and difficult so that informal enterprises do not operate on cash basis. Introduction of the value-added tax (VAT) at some stage in the future would expand the formal sector, as a result, it would create a repository of data for effective policy making.

Labour inspection fines should be substituted with training, thus encouraging good labor practices

Access to Credit Instruments. Access to credit instruments enhances competitiveness and thereby the ability to comply with regulations. Likewise, financial services enable formal enterprises to survive during the recession without falling back into informality. Informal enterprises usually do not open bank account registered in their name, as they have difficulties in complying with requirements related to the minimum number of years of operation, maintaining of minimum deposit in the bank account, cash-flow statements,

NBP Cash n Gold

**SONA RAKHWAIYE...
...CASH LEY JAIYE**





It is vital to capitalize on the potential of the informal sector for realizing sustained stimulation of economic growth, giving way for increased government spending on infrastructures development and higher quality social welfare programs

etc. Therefore, entrepreneurs use their personal accounts to manage their business finances. For the opening of accounts, the banks should only require firms' operating license. This would reduce the burden of financial formalization, an incentive to formalize business.

Substitution of labour Inspection Fines with Training. Panic created by labour inspectors prevents many informal enterprises from formalizing their businesses, which in turn raises the level of vulnerability for labour working in the informal sector. A factor that undoubtedly contributes to this situation is the lack of knowledge about regulations. To cope with this situation, the government needs to increase compliance with Labour Laws through better information, training and assistance. Labour inspection fines should be substituted with training, thus encouraging good labour practices. Such a program would reduce the risk for formalized enterprises to incur costs due to their unfamiliarity with Labour Regulations.

Controlling the Flight of Capital. To the extent, formal sector firms indulge in capital flight to later finance reverse capital flight can be controlled once under-invoicing of imports is controlled by the customs department. It's not very difficult, a strong will is required to control this menace. Traders should be asked to only submit an official invoice obtained from foreign country's customs department. This would control the on-going import under-invoicing. Also allow customs department to purchase the suspected under-invoiced imported goods from importers at the customs point at 2 percent additional value than the import bill presented to customs department, an importer who will face losses in this way would refrain from under-invoicing in the future. To get a complete knowledge of the firms who indulged in under-invoicing of imports in the past, there is a need to conduct a technical audit of all establishments to determine actual level of installed capacity.

Transfer Pricing Control. Foreign firms use a mechanism called 'internal transfer price' to take advantage of tax differences across countries. Transfer pricing methods directly affect the amount of profit reported, which in turn affects the tax revenues. As foreign investors' operations are

growing in Pakistan, the issue of effective transfer pricing regulation becomes more pressing. Given the limited expertise and resources of regulatory agencies in the field of transfer pricing, it becomes increasingly important to understand as to what extent international investment agreements can address this issue through, for example, increased transparency, information sharing, co-operation and technical assistance provisions, thereby ensuring the country derives full benefits from foreign investment without exposure to a potentially harmful transfer pricing practice.

Inculcating the Culture of Compliance for Regulations. It should be made mandatory that only registered and tax-compliant enterprises would be eligible to join industry associations who facilitate access to foreign markets, credit and training. The government should overcome informality challenge by educating enterprises through awareness campaigns using media and conducting field visits. Equally important would be strong communication drive and interaction with the public about new formalization regime, this will restore the government's credibility and trustworthiness.

Tax Amnesty Scheme for more Tax Compliance and Documentation. Pakistan launched a tax amnesty scheme (asset declaration scheme) in May 2019. In addition to the above policy reform directions, this scheme is likely to document the informal economy.

Concluding Remarks

Informality has undeniably undesirable implications for the economy and society. For enterprises, it is important that the transformation to formality makes them a good business sense. For Pakistan, it is vital to capitalize on the potential of the informal sector for realizing sustained stimulation of economic growth, giving way for increased government spending on infrastructures development and higher quality social welfare programs. Conscientious spending by the government, in turn, would create a sense of trust, for tax collected will ultimately be utilized for the welfare of tax payees, thereby, stimulating

The government should not simply push small-scale informal enterprises into the formal economy for the sake of collecting taxes from them, the aim of the policy should be to make them more productive and competitive via induction of modern technology and management practices as well as the development of skill proficiency



the business sentiments for further growth and documentation of the economy. Therefore, the government needs to give top priority to the resolution of informality issues. A comprehensive approach must be adopted and implemented to reduce informality in the economy. The government needs to adopt a multi-prong approach including legislative, governmental and judicial reforms. One policy should not be used to regulate or improve the conditions of heterogeneous informal enterprises, carrying out different activities. The government should not simply push small-scale informal enterprises into the formal economy for the sake of collecting taxes from them, the aim of the policy should be to make them more productive and competitive via induction of modern technology and management practices as well as the development of skill proficiency. Start a technical audit of installed capacity of established formal companies to identify hidden part of their production.

To begin with, policies assisting informal enterprises to formalize should be given a legal cover. Registration procedures should be streamlined to facilitate small enterprises. This would be achieved through promotional and training efforts. Programs including good labour practices and social security protection education should be given a wider coverage. At the same time, the government needs to address the drawbacks in the existing tax system. Operational issues, such as those related to ease of filing and refund, need to be resolved on priority basis.

Municipal staff assisting the informal enterprises is not well-versed with procedures

to formalize firms, and rights and obligations of employers, they must be fast trained. The staff must change its mindset and become facilitators of informal firms rather than mere administrators of regulations. Alternatively, a special department in each municipality, dealing specifically with informal enterprises, needs to be established with qualified staff.

One of the main reasons for informality is lack of conducive business environment. Therefore, the government needs to give top priority to improve ease-of-doing business and reduce cost-of-doing business especially for informal enterprises. This should be the core of the strategy to formalize the informal economy and raising inclusiveness. Otherwise, informal enterprises would opt to remain in the informal economy where they would remain facing the brunt of corruption and bureaucratic requirements and thus would continually dampen the growth prospects.

Let me conclude the paper with a cautionary note. An abrupt or forced shift from the informal to the formal sector can lead to too many job losses. This is more so because the informal sector is the major source of job creation for low skilled workers and helps in alleviation of poverty. Therefore, government policies should remain supportive of such activities even after their registration. Household firms that are unregistered will perhaps remain unregistered forever unless they voluntarily come forward or graduate to a bigger size and become visible to authorities. Till they remain invisible, authorities should not worry much about them.



Dr Zafar Mahmood is Professor of Economics and Head of Research at School of Social Sciences and Humanities (S3H), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad. Email: dr.zafar@s3h.nust.edu.pk

Notes

1. Like many other countries, informality in the economy is a long living reality in Pakistan. The informal sector is dominated by labor-intensive cottage manufacturing industries, small commerce, and neighborhood services. They do not directly engage in international trade.
2. The documented economy is falling whereas undocumented economy is thriving in Pakistan. [see, "Pakistan Economic Survey". Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan (various issues)].
3. Under-employment phenomenon is primarily linked to the informal economy, where the bulk of low skilled workers are employed including unpaid-family workers and self-employed workers, they often work for less than eight hours. The Heritage Foundation's Economic Freedom Index (2019) shows that a large proportion of the workforce employed in the informal economy of Pakistan is under-employed (Available at: <https://www.heritage.org/index/>).
4. After denationalization and privatization policies in the late 1970s, the main responsibility to create jobs was assumed by the private sector. The new entrants to the labor market, especially, with no or little education find no other option but to work informally. Consequently, the informal sector has become the major labor absorber.
5. See, Mahmood, Z. (2019) "Reindustrializing Pakistan through CPEC-SEZs". Presented at the First International Conference of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, held on September 27-28, 2019 on the Campus of South China University of Technology, Guangzhou, China.
6. Most of the entrepreneurs have established themselves in the informal economy by virtue of their survival rather than improvement-driven opportunity.
7. Note: the current global debate on the shadow or informal economy is taking place in the context of terror financing that is thought to be hidden there.
8. See, ICLS (1993) Resolution adopted by the 15th International Conference of Labor Statisticians, 19-28, January.
9. See, Mahmood (2019, *Ibid*).
10. See, Mahmood, Z. (2013) Reverse Capital Flight to Pakistan: Analysis of Evidence. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 52(1): 1-16.
11. Illegal economic activities also include; transfer of money through Hundi/Hawala, hidden rentals and barter business, narcotic/forbidden commodity trade, gambling, etc.
12. Labor market regulations include: minimum working age, safety regulations, regulation on number of hours worked and minimum wage cause extra burden on formal firms for hiring, which results into fewer job opportunities. Subsequent unemployment together with increased taxation, high inflation, and absence of social security benefits encourage informality of economic agent.
13. Of course, not all of Foreign Currency Accounts are based on undocumented money; e.g., non-resident Pakistanis are allowed to deposit their remittances either in rupee account or foreign currency account, which is legitimate.
14. Most of the studies used 'the currency demand approach' to measure the size of the informal economy. This approach is based on cash-based transactions taking place in the country. [See, Ahmed, A.M. (2009) Underground Economy in Pakistan: How Credible Are Estimates? *NUST Journal of Business and Economics*, 2(1), 1-9. Arby, M.F., M.J. Malik and M.N. Hanif (2010) "The Size of Informal Economy in Pakistan". SBP Working Paper Series, 33, Karachi: State Bank of Pakistan].
15. Most of the studies show a rising trend in the size of the formal economy since 1992. One of the indicators of the growth of the informal economy is fall in the tax-to-GDP ratio. It may be noted that the tax-to-GDP ratio was 13.8% in the 1980s, which came down slightly to 13.4% in the 1990s but sharply decreased to 10.3% in the 2000s and slightly increased to 10.7% in the 2010s (see, GoP, *Ibid*). These estimates are quite high for the average of South Asia, which is about 35% [See, IMF (2017) "Pakistan: Selected Issues". International Monetary Fund Country Report No. 17/213, July, Washington, D.C. Available at: <file:///G:/Green/Green%20IMF%20May.pdf>].
16. Self-employed are about 68% of total labor force in Pakistan, a majority of the self-employed owns unregistered establishments. [See, Qasim, A.W. (2011) "Relationship between Inflation and Tax Evasion: A Case Study of Pakistan". MPhil Thesis, Department of Economics, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Khan, A. and S. Khalil (2017) The Real Size of Underground Economy: A Case of Pakistan. *Pakistan Journal of Applied Economics*, 27(1): 89-100].
17. See, Kemal, M.A. and A.W. Qasim (2012) Precise Estimates of the Informal Economy. Available at: <http://pide.org.pk/psde/pdf/AGM28/M%20Ali%20Kemal%20and%20Ahmed%20Waqar%20Qasim.pdf>.
18. See, Mahmood (2013, *Ibid*).
19. See, IMF (2017, *Ibid*).
20. Within total direct tax revenue, 41% comes from various withholding taxes, which according to FBR are characterized by their *adjustable and presumptive (final)* nature.
21. Available at: <https://www.fbr.gov.pk/>.
22. See, Kemal, A.R. and Z. Mahmood (1993) "Labour Absorption in the Informal Sector and Economic Growth in Pakistan". Informal Sector Study No. 2. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Pakistan Office, Islamabad.
23. See, Kemal and Mahmood (1993, *Ibid*).
24. See, Pratap, S. and E. Quintin (2006) "The Informal Sector in Developing Countries". Research Paper 2006/13, World Institute for Development Economics Research, United Nations University, Helsinki.
25. See, Schneider, F. and D.H. Enste (2000) Shadow Economies: Size, Causes and Consequences. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 78: 299-321.
26. See, Torgler, B., and F. Schneider (2007) "Shadow Economy, Tax Morale, Governance and Institutional Quality: A Panel Analysis". IZA Discussion Papers, 2563. Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, Germany.
27. See, Loayaza, N.V. (1996) "The Economics of the Informal Sector: A Simple Model and Some Empirical Evidence from Latin America." Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy 45:129-162.
28. See, World Bank (2010) "Turkey: Country Economic Memorandum: Informality-Causes, Consequences, and Policies". Report No. 48523, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
29. See, Eilat, Y. and C. Zinnes (2002) "The Evolution of the Shadow Economy in Transition Countries: Consequences for Economic Growth and Donor Assistance." CAER II Discussion Paper No. 83, Harvard Institute for International Development.
30. See, ILO (2002) "Decent Work and the Informal Economy". Report VI, International Labour Conference, 90th Session, Geneva: International Labour Organization.
31. Single tax portal for both federal and provincial taxes should be established to avoid the problem of double taxation, and for convenience.



47
YEARS
of Dedication
to Nation



Lt Gen Najib Ullah Khan, (Retd) HI(M)
MD AWT

Well Above

30
Billion

Rupees Worth
Company

**PRIVILEGED
TO SERVE
THE NATION**

1

Billion

Rupees
contributed
to National
exchequer

Providing

28,000

direct &
indirect
employment

21

Companies

and still
growing



A hand holding a glowing orb with a city skyline in the background.

POLITICAL GOVERNANCE AND HYBRID WAR



Imtiaz Gul

Abstract

This paper postulates that bad governance should be viewed as a potential element of a hybrid war. The latter of course is a new approach to inflict harm on the enemy. It is visible in many manifestations in Pakistan. Yet, regardless of whether deployed by the enemy as an element of a hybrid war or not, the state will always remain vulnerable to external influences if the governance and service delivery remains tardy and deficient. In order to pre-empt possible exploitation of these conditions by the enemy, corrective measures are unavoidable. This is the only way to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of bad governance and thus clubbing it with other elements of the hybrid war.

Keywords: *Governance, Hybrid War, Conflicts, Separatist Movement*

Financial Action Task Force

**Almost all of the demands and resolutions presented in
FATF against Pakistan were driven by India**

Is hybrid war a reality of geo-politics, or a deflection pretext to cover up one's own failures, or a combination of both? The theory of hybrid war can be viewed from two angles both as a blessing or bane; if you take it as an external intervention that triggers you into corrective measures, it indeed is a blessing. But if you don't admit the underlying causes and only take it as an imposed tool of destabilization, then you are mostly consumed by reactive measures – often cast in a narrative of victimhood as well as attempts to deflect attention without really focusing on removing or at least acknowledging the causes.¹

Before we try to make sense of what hybrid warfare is and whether exploitation of governance failures also belongs to it, a few questions will not be out of place to understand if Pakistan, too, is up against the hydra of a hybrid warfare, including the exploitation of bad governance by external forces.

The revocation of IOJK's special status on August 5th (2019) emerged as a new element of the hybrid war that India has been using against Pakistan

Firstly, is the simmering spat between the provincial government and the Municipal Corporation over the heaps of garbage in Karachi, the capital of the southernmost Sindh province, and the resultant governance dysfunction in the largest of Pakistani cities the latest addition to the broad matrix of hybrid war? The province as a whole received 2.5 trillion rupees in development funds between 2009-2018 but Karachi, the country's doorway for external trade through the

Arabian Sea, as well other major towns of the Sindh province represent a dismal picture of poor governance.

Secondly, has the revocation of IOJK's special status on August 5 (2019) emerged as a new element of the hybrid war that India has been using against Pakistan? The incessant firing from across the Line of Control (LoC) for several years and the latest tensions rooted in IOJK have led to emotional responses in Pakistan. The issue has been consuming energy and attention of all and sundry, and has distracted the government from its pressing economic reform and financial stabilization agenda.

Thirdly, is the international watchdog, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), yet another tool of the hybrid warfare? Most of the conditions it placed on Pakistan in the June 2018 Action Plan centered on terrorist financing and money-laundering. Also, almost all of the demands and resolutions presented against Pakistan were driven by India. It remains seized with what it calls the "terrorist infrastructure" in Pakistan, a reference to various non-state actors including Jaishe Mohammad (JeM) and Jamaatud Dawa (JuD).

Although Pakistan has tightened the noose around these groups since 2017, initiated cases against their leaders, frozen their bank accounts and taken over control of their key facilities, India as a co-chair of FATF's Asia Pacific Group (APG), has been manipulating the drive against Pakistan with the support of key countries such as the US,

By default, poor governance within the financial sector and wanting enforcement of law became a source of exploitation by external factors



France, UK and Germany, which led to the June 2018 “grey-listing” of Pakistan.

The financial sector, too, has been plagued by loopholes, which criminals, vested interests and terrorists exploited to the hilt, and hence the FATF conditions. By default, poor governance within the financial sector and wanting enforcement of law became a source of exploitation by external factors.

The hybrid warfare primarily targets disgruntled local populations, particularly the socio-economic inequities of the system and dysfunctionality of service infrastructures

What is Hybrid Warfare?

Defining hybrid warfare in a world polarized by geo-political considerations and geo-economic interests is probably as hard as developing a consensus on what constitutes “terrorism.”

Hybrid war in present times is synonymous with multi-dimensional, non-conventional measures – economic squeeze through international fora such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), cyber warfare, exploitation of the sense of deprivations among sub-nationalist ethnic groups – inflict harm on the target state without engaging in open armed hostilities. The hybrid warfare primarily targets disgruntled local populations, particularly the socio-economic inequities of the system and dysfunctionality of service infrastructures. This way the hybrid warfare exploits systemic weaknesses of the political economy – dated governance systems that fail to meet increasing service delivery demands.

Hybrid war is an emerging notion in international war and conflict studies and refers to the use of non-conventional methods in order to disrupt an opponent’s actions and undermine its political-economic interests without engaging in open hostilities. The term also implies infiltration of proxies into government, military and security systems and disruption through social media, fake news and engineered alternate narratives with the aim to manipulate opinions, perceptions and buy influence in an adversary country.

In hybrid warfare, a state usually tries to use “all instruments of power at its command to target perceived specific vulnerabilities of the enemy

New alliances and rivalries coloured by hybrid warfare have reduced the prospect of already distant economic prosperity in South Asia

The post-Cold War new technologies and shifting alliances have failed to diffuse the tensions created by history

state. The elements of ambiguity”, non-linearity, surprise, cognitive skills of warfare and secrecy normally help achieve the desired objectives without fear of retaliation.²

NATO defines it “as a wide range of overt and covert military, paramilitary, and civilian measures [...] employed in a highly integrated design”.³ It is a war that is “waged everywhere but nowhere to be seen, by anyone at once with all or some tools of state power with a synchronized action to influence societal weakening or collapse in a targeted country.

The idea of a hybrid war seems to spring from conflicting interests of states such as the US, China, India, Pakistan and Russia. Their divergent views and mutual threat perceptions, provide at least the theoretical context to strategies and tactics that are meanwhile called the tools of hybrid war i.e. moves that may inflict harm on the enemy state, without leaving any footprint of the mastermind, whereby each one of these powers wants to enforce a rebalance (of its choice) onto the region.⁴

The dynamics of evolving warfare have not only kept the specter of decades old instability alive in South Asia but also entrapped Afghanistan-Pakistan-India in an unending vicious cycle of animosity and brinkmanship.

“The post-Cold War new technologies and shifting alliances have failed to diffuse the tensions created by history”, rather they have further added more dangerous twists such as terrorism. Indeed, new alliances and rivalries coloured by hybrid warfare have reduced the prospect of already distant economic prosperity in South Asia.⁵





Hybrid Warfare essentially means exploiting socio-political vulnerabilities of the target state through non-conventional means in a cost-effective, clandestine but deniable way without launching physical military assault

Weeks of angry and violent protests in Hong Kong are another case in point. Unlike the majority of Hong Kong residents, a minority held the city state hostage, paralysing parts of it – including the airport – for weeks. The demonstrations cost the government billions of dollars in three months, following closure of the airport as well as disruption in businesses. In this particular case, a law-fare was used to mobilise anti-government protests; point of contention was a new law that paved way for extradition of suspects of crime or terror to mainland China.

The Hong Kong government eventually caved in to demands and announced on September 4 to withdraw the extradition law.

Chinese officials denounced the protests as a violent attempt for “a colour revolution” in direct reference to changes through protests in the Baltic states of Ukraine and Georgia.⁶

One of the most striking examples of hybrid warfare in action has been Russia’s activities in Crimea and the Donbas region of Ukraine. NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg described Russia’s actions as: “[using] proxy soldiers, unmarked Special Forces, intimidation and propaganda, all to lay a thick fog of confusion; to obscure its true purpose in Ukraine; and to attempt deniability.”⁷

Moscow, on the other hand, accused the US and other NATO members of using “proxies” to damage the Russian interests in these states.

One of the most striking examples of hybrid warfare in action has been Russia’s activities in Crimea and the Donbas region of Ukraine

Pakistan’s Context

In Pakistan’s context, violent movements by Baloch separatist groups and the Pashtoon Tahaffuz Movement (PTM) (2018/19) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa could qualify as components of a hybrid warfare. They are all, among others, also rooted in bad governance and neglect of the common man. This essentially means exploiting socio-political vulnerabilities of the target state through non-conventional means in a cost-effective, clandestine but deniable way without launching physical military assault.

Who to assign the responsibility for deterioration in public service delivery? Riots over

water and power shortages, obsolete leaking gas and water distribution systems, discontent over garbage disposal, cratered roads and dysfunctional public health system are just a few manifestations of public services. All this happened under the rule of the meanwhile fragmented MQM in the last three decades. The party exercised absolute control over the city of Karachi and ran it like a personal fiefdom, as an ATM for its leaders. Its extortionist rule hollowed it out from within instead of developing it into a modern prosperous city. This also filters through revelations made by several MQM activists and leaders to Joint Interrogation Teams (JITs)⁸.

Pakistan is certainly facing various manifestations of a hybrid warfare. Generally, the notion of an imposed hybrid war is taken as synonymous to an India-led concerted multi-dimensional subversive and destabilisation campaign inside and outside Pakistan. Continued India opposition to Pakistan at all international forums, including the United Nations and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) are a case in point.

On August 23, for instance, the entire Indian electronic media began screaming that the Asia Pacific Group (APG), a regional arm of FATF, had placed Pakistan on the organization’s blacklist. This was nothing less than a motivated, slanderous campaign based possibly on a leak by Indian officials attending the APG meeting in Paris. In the first place, APG has no mandate to decide on the listing. The decision on the grey or blacklisting rests with the FATF Plenary (which was due in October 2019), and not by the APG. Secondly, even if APG recommended blacklisting, it had not issued its official communique on the latest meeting. Thirdly, the official press release said it had accepted the Pakistani report for review.

The exclusion of Pakistani sportsmen or artists from events in India, or the Indian refusal to attend similar events in Pakistan are all extensions of this Indian campaign to isolate or paint

The exclusion of Pakistani sportsmen or artists from events in India, or the Indian refusal to attend similar events in Pakistan are all extensions of this Indian campaign to isolate or paint Pakistan negatively wherever possible

Hybrid war can be both a blessing or a bane but for Pakistan it represents an opportunity to correct historical mistakes, and address systemic shortcomings that provide the enemy with the exploitative or manipulative tools

Pakistan negatively wherever possible. Officials in Islamabad, nevertheless believe such tactics cannot inflict harm on Pakistan. They point to the country's armed forces and the nuclear arsenal as the ultimate defence against India. The armed forces no doubt constitute the bulwark against external aggression but there is a caveat to it; perceptions of a country in the world today are tied more to its economic outlook than to the physical security infrastructure.

Pakistan's Challenge

Hybrid war can be both a blessing or a bane but for Pakistan it represents an opportunity to correct historical mistakes, and address systemic shortcomings that provide the enemy with the exploitative or manipulative tools.

Former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is another case in point. For near 70 years it remained neglected. PTM emerged as a tool of hybrid war to take advantage of various latent grievances resulted not only from successive military operations but also due to absence of governance and rule of law.

Baloch nationalists also became instruments of a proxy war, raised on weaknesses of governance and short-sighted political approaches adopted by the Center. This provided the enemy – if one were to assume there is an external force behind it – entry points for engagement with groups who are ready to resist and fight the state for their own vested interests.

Conclusion

Given the present geo-political circumstances, and the string of actions India continues to undertake at regional and international level and as well as its reported contacts with the Baloch Republican Army (BRA) and the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF), it is safe to assume security strategists in New Delhi may be using these groups to bruise and bleed Pakistan.



Regionally, too, this war may further intensify and serve as a big psychological barrier to the vision and plans of regional connectivity through trade and energy projects. Yet, there is a lesson to learn from China; it has progressed at an astronomical pace in the last four decades, despite challenges that could be called instruments of a hybrid warfare; the continued contentious issue of Taiwan, which China claims but is honored by the United States as an independent country.

China responded to externally-driven hybrid warfare in its north-western territories i.e. Tibet and Xinjiang autonomous regions – with good governance and exceptional service delivery. Despite separatist opposition movements – disproportionately magnified by the western media, Beijing exclusively focused on infrastructure development and peoples' welfare.

Beijing views entities such as East Turkestan Movement (ETIM), which publicly vows to hurt Chinese interests, as terrorist organizations and instruments of internal destabilization. Laddakh, the western edge of the greater Tibetan region under the control of India, represents another headache for Beijing; both India and the US-led West adore The Dalai Lama, the Buddhists spiritual leader, because he campaigns against China. But unfazed by the massive information machinery that both countries use to pick on, Chinese leadership has developed Lhasa, Tibet's capital, Urumqi, the Xinjiang capital and its ancient city Kashgar as modern, bustling cities.⁹

For centuries the Lama followers lived in absolute poverty in extreme climatic conditions and poverty until 1951, when the Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA) brought the region under its control. The current Dalai Lama -14th in number - refused to live under Chinese political control and fled to India.

China responded to externally-driven hybrid warfare in its north-western territories i.e. Tibet and Xinjiang autonomous regions – with good governance and exceptional service delivery. Despite separatist opposition movements – disproportionately magnified by the western media, Beijing exclusively focused on infrastructure development and peoples' welfare



The new spiritual leader of Tibet - the Communist Party of Chinese (CPC), on the contrary - chose to lift Dalai Lama's followers out of poverty and give them a respectable living.

The monstrous Inter-Continental Hotel off the main town Lhasa, for example, is a manifestation of the CPC to mainstream Tibetans through a sustained socio-economic development plan that has seen Lhasa swell into a modern city with immaculate infrastructure. With the growing population, a Lhasa New City too has emerged with numerous high-rise commercial, official and apartment buildings.

And herein lies a lesson for Pakistan on how to respond to the threats of hybrid war that originate from poor governance and deficit law enforcement; fix the obsolete governance regime and focus on peoples' welfare. This will serve as the wall against all manifestations of hybrid war.

Regardless of how you name these manifestations of unrest and opposition, they never distracted Beijing from a relentless people-centric good governance and inclusive development.

Repeated political compromises, continued apathy to peoples' plight, the unending propensity among the elites to thrive off public resources and an incompetent, self-serving bureaucracy are the actual instruments of a hybrid warfare

As long as Pakistan's nuclear deterrence remains credible, Pakistan can militarily withstand the Indian coercive diplomacy and "can prevent adversary (India) from gaining escalation dominance, employment of coercive tactics in a crisis or to attain power at its expense."¹⁰

But, we must recall, nuclear arsenal is no guarantee for medium-term survival. This capability couldn't prevent the former Soviet Union from disintegration. Nor will help Pakistan survive and thrive economically. Given global, geo-political alignments, the Indian coercive diplomacy coupled with various elements of hybrid war has its own limitations, yet the most enduring insulation against all negative external influences will come only if the political economy is radically reformed from within to make Pakistan financially solvent.

Ultimately a country has to fight its own survival battles, pursue its own strategic options in a complicated and challenging environment and assert its own strategic autonomy, says Mian Sanaullah, a former ambassador. Unless Pakistan swiftly and efficiently addresses issues such as:

- Inequitable resource distribution.
- Fast deteriorating climate, including depleting water resources.
- Burgeoning youth unemployment.
- Ailing state-enterprises (SE).
- Profusely bleeding public financial sector.
- The skewed privileges architecture that favours a handful mighty ones to the disadvantage of the majority of nearly 220 million Pakistanis.



Pakistan will remain vulnerable to external pressures, and our ruling elites will keep deflecting from the real issues under one pretext or the other, describing them as consequences of an externally-imposed war on Pakistan. Repeated political compromises, continued apathy to peoples' plight, the unending propensity among the elites to thrive off public resources and an incompetent, self-serving bureaucracy are the actual instruments of a hybrid warfare. Refusal to reform the obsolete governance regime, police, criminal justice systems, will keep exposing the country to vulnerabilities – which are easier to fuel from abroad. Through their tardy, exclusive decision-making – which generates discontent, fuels anger and also delays service delivery – the bureaucrats as well as politicians willing or unknowingly become pawns of the hybrid war.

Imtiaz Gul is the Executive Director of Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS), Islamabad

Notes

1. This paper also draws on - for some primary literature - a paper by Ambassador Mian Sanaullah in Strategic Thought, a journal of International Affairs magazine at the National Defense University (NDU), Volume 1 Spring 2009, ISSN 2073-0926
2. Daniel H. Abbott, The Handbook of Fifth-Generation Warfare (5gw), Nimble Books, September 2010
3. "NATO countering the hybrid threat", NATO ACT, September 23, 2011. Available at <https://www.act.nato.int/nato-countering-the-hybrid-threat>
4. Robert Einhorn, W.P.S. Sidhu, "The Strategic Chain Linking Pakistan, India, China, and the United States", The Brookings Institute, March 2017. Available at https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/acnpi_201703_strategic_chain.pdf
5. Seminar "Understanding Strategic Coercion in the Realm of Gray Hybrid Conflict: Implications for Pakistan", Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, February 11, 2019)
6. Author's discussions with officials in Beijing, August ,2019
7. Bachman, Dr Sasca. "The Emergence of Hybrid Warfare." The emergence of hybrid warfare | Bournemouth University. Bournemouth University. Accessed August 30, 2019. <https://www.bournemouth.ac.uk/research/projects/emergence-hybrid-warfare>
8. <https://nation.com.pk/15-Mar-2015/shocking-revelations-of-nine-zero-arrest-ee>
9. Based on author's visits to Xinjiang (December 2018), and Tibet (August 2019)
10. John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, New York: WW Norton & Co, 2001, p.139





PAKISTAN'S MARINE RESOURCES AND THE UNTAPPED MARITIME VISTA



Khalid Rahman

Abstract

Oceans are the world's seventh-largest economy. Their benefits are so diverse and extensive in nature that many countries have built their entire economies on and around them. But where Pakistan stands as of today in terms of her marine economy and how it should move forward, is a relevant question which requires a comprehensive answer under an integrated approach. Despite vast Exclusive Economic Zone, which may rightly be termed as the fifth province of Pakistan, there are issues hindering the harvest and marketing of living as well as the exploration of non-living marine resources. Lack of awareness, absence of relevant data, expertise, and non-availability of technology may be cited as some of the major factors in this regard. Consequently, the country is losing huge economic opportunities. While marine resources fuel the maritime economy, the present paper argues comprehensive investments in Pakistan through public-private partnerships and maritime infrastructures in the four-tier cycle of marine resources, i.e. exploration, exploitation, conservation, and management. Led by effective policy and legislation, it further places emphasis on creating a robust national marine economic road map, maritime driven coordination networks, and the knowledge-based development of coastal communities of Pakistan.

Keywords: *Marine Resources, Maritime Infrastructure, Maritime Policy, Integrated Coastal Zone Management, Maritime Governance, Marine Scientific Research*



Oceans are among the most important natural resources that the Most Beneficial Lord has bestowed on mankind. While the oceans substantially contribute to feeding humankind they, in view of being one large water body, have remained the cheapest source for the large scale movement of goods as well as human beings. Human-sea interaction, therefore, dates back to centuries.

Increasing knowledge and understanding of the role that oceans play in the ecosystem of the world of ours have lent further significance to the oceans. At the same time, it has accelerated the material aspect of the oceans after the nineteenth-century when the scientists tried learning the patterns in terms of exploration and exploitation of the marine resources. Also, excessive maritime claims and the conflicts over marine resources, mainly fish stocks, crystallized a paradigm shift and resulted in the conclusion of the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS-1982) which may rightly be termed as grundnorm for the oceans and enabled resources - a product of decades long tense negotiations between the sovereign entities.

The Seventh Largest Economy

Oceans are now conservatively estimated to have a worth of at least US\$ 24 trillion, wherein, goods and services from coastal and marine environments amount to US\$ 2.5 trillion in terms of annual Gross Marine Product (GMP – a budding terminology). This places our oceans at the seventh largest economy in the world. These estimates do not include outputs that are not generated by the oceans per se. For example, coastal communities are involved in subsistence fishing. Their social, economic, cultural, religious as well as political identities as indigenous peoples are driven by the distinct habitat offered by the sea. Thus, resources like offshore oil and gas (as minerals, gas hydrates, crude oil lie within the earth surface), and wind energy, as well as intangibles like ocean's role in climate regulation (carbon absorption), the biodiversity it holds, are not part of these estimates. At the same time, there is an on-going debate over price-tagging of the marine resources, though in many cases it remains exclusive or ignorant of ocean-related intangibles.

Oceans as Intellectual Trade offs

While a huge amount of resources in the Ocean remains untapped a challenging aspect of this

More than 1500 types of finfish and shellfish are found in marine waters of Pakistan, but only 200 species are commercially harvested

invaluable treasure house is related to its health. Over exploitation of the known marine resources, climate change owing to global warming and pollution are some of the key reasons causing this ailing phenomenon. It is in this overall context that the UN has also included “Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development” as one of the 17 SDGs. Global significance therefore should be felt through intellectual consideration and management with tradeoffs. Moreover, the interconnectedness between the human systems and the ecosystems insists on an immediate transition from single-sector management to multi-sector.



Marine Potential and Pakistan

Where Pakistan stands as of today in terms of her marine economy and how it should move forward is a relevant question which requires a comprehensive answer under an integrated approach.

Though, Pakistan, with a coastline of 990 kilometers may not be called a major coastline country it should have started as a major maritime nation, being situated at the confluence of Asia, Europe, and Africa, overlooking bulk of sea traffic to and from the major economic hubs of the world. But the focus has generally remained exclusive to the security dimension with issues like maritime

Oceans are now conservatively estimated to have a worth of at least US\$ 24 trillion, wherein, goods and services from coastal and marine environments amount to US\$ 2.5 trillion in terms of annual Gross Marine Product



Mongolia, the largest landlocked country in the world is supporting investments and economy through Mongolian Ship Registry, or Ethiopia exporting world-class seafarers to the world

terrorism, customs control, illegal human and drug trafficking, and piracy.

Consequently, the country has not been able to exploit its full marine potential. At present, Fisheries are the largest contributor to the marine economy of Pakistan; 0.4 percent of total GDP. More than 1500 types of finfish and shellfish are found in marine waters of Pakistan, but only 200 species are commercially harvested.² Wherein, Balochistan, which has a longer (more than double of the Sindh) coastline contributes only 30% of the total fish catch as compared to 70% of Sindh's. Conventional fisheries are stressed, tapping of the potential remains short of the optimum utilization, mostly because irregular, unreported, unregulated fishing (IUU) is prevalent in marine waters of Pakistan.³ This, on the one hand, causes a huge national loss, and on the other, denies the small fishermen to earn a decent living.

Similarly, there are issues hindering the harvest and marketing of seaweed, as well as the exploration of non-living marine resources like oil, gas and other minerals used in pharmaceuticals, cosmetic, and tech industries. Lack of awareness, absence of relevant data, expertise, and non-availability of technology may be cited as some of the major factors in this regard. Consequently, the country is losing huge economic opportunities. It becomes ironic when there are countries, entirely landlocked, but their economies rely heavily upon ocean-based activities. Take for example Mongolia, the largest landlocked country in the world is supporting investments and economy through Mongolian Ship Registry, or Ethiopia exporting world-class seafarers to the world.⁴

There are infrastructure issues as well. It is rightly stated that the marine economy is both geography and industry - a sum of direct outputs (e.g. fisheries and aquaculture), adjacent benefits (e.g. marine tourism), and services enabled by the oceans (e.g. conducting research about and

Steering marine economy, like any other sector, requires an integrated vision, policy and legal frameworks, and strong institutions to actually kick-start the exploration, exploitation, conservation, and management cycle

facilitating the movement of goods and people). The country is seriously lacking the state of the art Maritime infrastructure including terminals, ships, survey and cargo vessels, shipyards, ship recycling facilities, etc., which determine the extent of maritime power and potential to harvest the marine resources.

It goes without saying that steering marine economy, like any other sector, requires an integrated vision, policy and legal frameworks, and strong institutions to actually kick-start the exploration, exploitation, conservation, and management cycle. Moreover, even the best of vision and policy frameworks require an integrated mechanism for implementation through relevant federal and provincial departments. We need to recognize that Marine resources fuel the maritime economy. Yet, difficulties linked to scant availability of the road map, maritime driven coordination network, the scientific data to decide the intrinsic or monetary value (translating research in products), technology-driven sustainable use, and management services exist in the case of Pakistan.

Allah it is Who has subjected the sea to you so that ships may sail upon it at His bidding and you may seek of His Bounty and give thanks to Him

(Al-Quran)

It would be useful, in this overall context, to discuss the issues and the way forward under four, rather overlapping areas of interventions:

- Maritime awareness
- Ocean governance
- Marine scientific research
- Capacity-building & facilitating stakeholders

First and Foremost is the Task of Creating Awareness

Importantly our very own reference points, the Quran & the Hadith, greatly encourage sea-expeditions, exploration, and navigation. For example; "the two masses of water are not alike...from both you eat fresh meat, and extract from it ornaments that you wear; and you see ships cruising through it that you may seek of His Bounty and be thankful to Him" (35:12).⁵ On another occasion, Quran says that "Allah it is Who has subjected the sea to you so that ships may sail upon it at His bidding and you may seek of His Bounty and give thanks to Him" (45:12). A Hadith of Holy Prophet PBUH reiterates "its water is purifying and its dead is lawful." Moreover, "a maritime expedition is better than ten campaigns of conquest on land".⁶

Pakistan's very own Oceans-Day could be celebrated on March 19 which has a historical significance; the day (in 2015) when the UNCLOS accepted Pakistan's claim for extension of its continental shelf limits from 200 to 350 nautical miles

Then comes the scope of formal education, wherein, the inclusion of material in the curricula and the textbooks, starting from the early to the highest levels is an action which will provide a foundation for a sustainable long term understanding. For academic studies and high-quality research, an area-specific university may be established and existing departments may be upgraded for preliminary education on marine sciences.

In the meantime, as immediate and short term majors, media, and business organizations could be motivated to play their role in highlighting the significance and the opportunities available in the marine economy. Even the political and social leadership of the country would need an orientation. Keeping in view the current level of sea blindness it should not be surprising that the manifestoes of Pakistani political parties seldom discuss maritime as a sector. The role of social media and various other channels of digital communication, networking, and outreach, to propagate 'maritime Pakistan' cannot be overemphasized in this regard.

The issue requires the development of an integrated mindset and approach not only from human-sea interaction aspect but also, every single action of the government should be cognizant of human and financial potentials and stakes involved in the oceans. An important example of this lack of understanding and absence of an integrated approach is reflected in the National Framework for Sustainable Development Goals. The framework prepared by the Planning Commission in March 2018 classify the SDGs in three categories i.e. Goals requiring immediate policy interventions, Goals requiring longer timeframes and Goals which need long gestation periods and will require major institutional reforms. It puts goal 14 which is directly related to the Sea in the third category⁸, not recognizing that attending this goal can be extremely helpful in achieving other goals of immediate category like food security, poverty alleviation, affordable clean energy or empowerment of people etc. too.

8th of June is Oceans Day declared as such by the UN. The day needs to be celebrated with equal enthusiasm, and not to be reduced a burden, to be shared only by Pakistan Navy or private entities or a handful of non-governmental organizations. Besides, Pakistan's very own oceans-day could be celebrated on March 19 which has a historical significance; the day (in 2015) when the United

Nations' Commission on Limits of Continental Shelf (UNCLOS) accepted Pakistan's claim for extension of its continental shelf limits from 200 nautical miles to 350 nautical miles. Exclusive programs and trips to maritime landmarks, for various segments of the society, may be organized on such occasions.

Awareness campaigns should also address the issues of pollution and the general attitudes in society in this regard. It needs to be recognized at all levels that an unhealthy sea is not going to be a guarantee for sustainable and quality marine resources. For enhancing the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and their resources, all those who are involved in fisheries or its management, at any level, need to be oriented about the negative consequences of overexploitation and destruction of fisheries. Fisheries if done at the cost of damaging the habitat is going to be extremely harmful to the communities involved and humanity at large.



The Governance Aspect

Coming to the Ocean governance in Pakistan let us recognize that the Constitution is relevant only as far as environmental pollution and ecology are concerned or the exploitation of minerals, oil, and gas. Not everything could be drawn explicitly from it. However, for a positive and proactive mindset, the implicit references provide enough space to work towards marine economy if complimented by the policy and necessary regulations from relevant bodies. While there are federal as well as provincial departments involved in the principal processes, the area-specific authorities in Sindh



Pakistan's very first maritime policy came in 2002, after more than five decades of her independence. An updated draft for a new policy is now pending approval for the past several years

and Balochistan have the mandate for “planning, development, preservation, monitoring, construction, operation, management, and maintenance” of their respective coastal zones⁹. At the same time, they are responsible for stimulating marine spatial planning, and protection of marine ecology through Marine Protected Areas (MPAs).

Existing maritime legislation needs to be reviewed with an eye on Jurisdictional gaps in the law, protection, enforcement, and prosecution.

Lately the Ministry of Ports and Shipping has been renamed as Ministry of Maritime Affairs (MMA). This is a positive decision though a lot more is required in terms of structural collaboration, and a holistic approach to the marine economy. Most important tasks are to fill in the gaps, address the overlapping issues and develop coordination. The ministry at present is working on getting together an inter-ministerial committee to collaborate on maritime affairs¹⁰. Such a framework is part of the broader scheme of administration and ocean governance (e.g. Integrated Coastal Zone Management - ICZM). In many ways, it is an evolving phenomenon that invites constant outlook for workable solutions and this is an area where Pakistan is not alone. Other countries are also facing similar situations in maritime coordination. Even countries, for example, Turkey or Ireland, with greater presence in the sea and better records of governance are still confronted with problems regarding

‘comprehensiveness’ of the legal and institutional framework that should cover “all aspects” of management of marine resources and streamline the human-sea interaction¹¹. So a provision for trial and error could be allowed. Nevertheless, there are good practices which can be learned from countries like Sweden or New Zealand who have large coastal areas yet have the most decentralized, participatory mechanism.¹² This suggests that a collaborative effort and learning from each other is important.

A National Maritime Economy Institute under the Ministry of Planning & Development of Pakistan should be established as well as a Maritime Desk in the Foreign Office and within other bureaucratic lines - to help implement a roadmap which should provide the strategic direction for future investment and development of a sustainable ocean-based economy in Pakistan.

Most important issue with regard to the governance is the absence of a comprehensive and updated maritime policy. Like progress in any other area, development in maritime sector cannot be imagined in a vacuum, or ignorant of emerging concepts and technical advancements. Yet, Pakistan's very first maritime policy came in 2002, after more than five decades of her independence. An updated draft for a new policy is now pending approval for the past several years.

A policy helps in communicating and promoting the vision and provides a framework for establishing institutions, mechanisms and drafting the legislation with clear priorities in view. An outdated policy may, in fact, become a liability in achieving anything substantial. Maritime Policy Draft (2014) of Pakistan is a comprehensive one. It gives helpful pointers for regulations in fisheries, aquaculture, shipping, marine pollution, Integrated Coastal Zone Management as well as tourism, seabed mining, marine scientific research, hydrography, training, and capacity building. Besides it also covers security and regional cooperation. Relevant stakeholders need to decide on such matters of acute urgency at the earliest¹³. Along with policy, existing maritime legislation need to be reviewed with an eye on Jurisdictional gaps in the law as well as their enforcement.

Ocean is a subject which by its very nature is trans-boundary. Moreover, it is a growing and evolving discipline which has gained further

Establishment of a National Maritime Economy Institute under the Ministry of Planning & Development of Pakistan as well as a Maritime unit in the Foreign Office and within other bureaucratic lines is an inevitable need



Pakistan Navy launches New Hydrographic Survey Vessel - Behr Masah



Establishment of Maritime Chamber of Pakistan could be a practical idea, with a kind of one window operation to interact with the government for the local and foreign investors and businesses

significance in view of the recent regional and global connectivity initiatives. As such it also involves expertise in international mechanisms for negotiation and collaboration. Establishment of a National Maritime Economy Institute under the Ministry of Planning & Development of Pakistan as well as a Maritime unit in the Foreign Office and within other bureaucratic lines is an inevitable need. Such initiatives will help implement a roadmap which should provide the strategic direction for future investment and development of a sustainable ocean-based economy in Pakistan.

Coastal communities are the most valued assets related to the oceans. Their vulnerabilities must be addressed by landscaping environmental challenges, community's political participation, and threats to their social identities. Technological cooperation and entrepreneurial support mechanisms for these communities need to be designed.

An accurate picture of what we have in our territorial waters, what is being produced from there and how, as well as what is being wasted or lost are some of the key questions which not only need quick answers, but a regular updating

Institutions and mechanisms which can facilitate coordination within the private sector as well as promote public-private partnership are also needed. Establishment of the Maritime Chamber of Pakistan could be a practical idea in this regard with a kind of one window operation (OWO) to interact with the government for the local and foreign investors and businesses. Equally pragmatic is the up-gradation of the fishing fleet, and the regulation of the fishing licenses.

Besides, Seaweed can promise sustainable marketing and aquaculture as an alternative livelihood to the coastal communities. Also relevant is the law and order situation in coastal areas. Moreover, providing conducive environment for private enterprises, investments in physical as well as digital infrastructure, aquaculture farms, modernization of the existing harbors and construction of new, are crucial developmental aspects of the marine economy.

Maritime Research

Importance of having accurate data cannot be overemphasized. There are tangible and intangible goods, services and market and non-market activities, all of which need to be investigated and developed into an information system. Yet, as we all know, data collection and reconstruction is one of the weakest areas in our country. This needs urgent attention. An accurate picture of what we have in our territorial waters, what is being produced from there and how, as well as what is being wasted or lost are some of the key questions which not only need quick answers but a regular updating.

In this backdrop, mapping of the maritime sector as well as stock-taking as to what is happening in the sector and what are the gaps (Current state v/s Desired State) in view of the overall potentials should be the foremost research task to set an agenda for an informed decision making. Seen in this context the MDP (Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan), launched in December 2018 by Pakistan Navy is a good beginning. An annual updated edition of such a document with more information and contributions from other stakeholders will make it a useful contribution.

Since inception, the maritime situation demanded a proactive response - an integrated maritime policy, reliable data support and strengthened legal framework championing maritime, but for reasons 'continental' in nature and 'blindness' towards the sea, 'maritime' never gained the attention it deserved. Even the Pakistan Economic Survey - a blueprint of the entire economy presents a fragmented approach towards maritime; fisheries and aquaculture are dealt with under the agriculture domain, and maritime is associated with shipping only. Treating Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) as Pakistan's fifth province and maritime an exclusive economic sector - with features extremely diverse and rich, we must develop capabilities with reliable data availability and accessibility to explore, exploit, conserve, and manage marine resources while affording equitable rights and obligations to all stakeholders.



Astola Island
Pakistan's first ever Marine Protected Area



The exploration can only be based on a comprehensive geological survey after mapping the surface and sub-surface characteristics of Pakistan's continental shelf

The focus in today's world is shifting increasingly towards exploration and exploitation of oil and gas reserves in deep waters. The exploration can only be based on a comprehensive geological survey after mapping the surface and sub-surface characteristics of Pakistan's continental shelf. This can be made possible only when a robust economic road map and infrastructures are in place. Also, the use of innovative techniques and specialized services in the production of renewable energy must have proper visibility in the functional debate.

Like in any other sector of governance, an integrated approach is needed in conducting Maritime research as well. Earlier, the perception was developed that Navy is the sole bearer of maritime activities. Navy indeed compensated and complimented the government machinery in developing maritime Pakistan in great lengths but her role is restricted to either benign, police, or military. With the discovery of unlimited prospects of the blue economy, the global trends are taking a sharp turn. Nevertheless, the security aspect remains important and with approximately 60% of the ocean space yet to be delimited, the scope of the conflicts at sea is critical. This requires a simultaneous, continuous and coordinated effort on the part of security and the other organizations involved in Maritime affairs including research, whether in scientific, economic, social or in any other related area. The fact that the extension of Pakistan's EEZ was a joint effort by the Hydrographic Department of Navy and National Institute of Oceanography (NIO) which was established in 1982 has set an ideal example in this regard.

Moreover, historical and archaeological research and studies related to Maritime with focus on future need to be supported. For academic studies and high-quality research, an area-specific university, as mentioned earlier, should be established and existing departments in various

Coastal communities are the most valued assets, their vulnerabilities must be addressed by landscaping environmental challenges, their political participation, and threats to their social identities

universities should be upgraded for preliminary education on marine sciences and economy. Similarly, there is a need to establish maritime-focused museums to promote interest in the sector.

Capacity Building

When we talk about capacity-building, it not only requires training and producing best seafarers or mariners, but developing a sea culture particularly in the decision-making circles and state institutions. Therefore, the suggestions given above in relation to awareness or governance form an integral part of capacity building as well. Technological support to maritime functionaries also needs attention.

The knowledge-based economy should be established based on human development, wherein, coastal communities are the most valued assets, their vulnerabilities must be addressed by landscaping environmental challenges, their political participation, and threats to their social identities. Accessibility to, and living conditions in, coastal areas need improvement. Attitude must come handy with regard to the capacity building of youngsters of coastal communities through start-ups. They should be given priority in various Youth Development Programs such as the,

For academic studies and high-quality research, an area-specific university, should be established and existing departments in various universities should be upgraded for preliminary education on marine sciences and economy

'Kamyab Jawan' program the present government has recently announced. Relevant ministries led by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs may take the initiative of awarding special scholarships within the country and outside to study the maritime sector. Moreover, the formation of a "Blue Alliance" or at least collaborative initiatives with concerned maritime countries will help to build capacities at a wider level. This will provide opportunities for learning the best practices and build the case for a rapid and comprehensive set of actions on behalf of the ocean.

In a nutshell, Global demand for fisheries is rising, it is an opportunity that Pakistan must never lose sight of. Only long-run sustainable projects to reduce the current levels of overfishing could help reverse IUU trends. The government should invest further in post-harvest value chains especially the fish processing factories. Creating an enabling environment for small, medium and micro-sized



enterprises including tax incentives and other similar facilities to those who are involved in the sector or intend to, will help multiply the existing activities in the sector.

It is important to affirm that a beginning has been made in Pakistan in the maritime sector. Outpacing the inevitable factors and tools, Pakistan must root for sincere efforts placing itself in a position that leads to tapping the untapped, inviting stakeholders - coastal communities, fisheries, dependent industries, management authorities, exploration companies, even civil society - to invest in the marine resources and benefit, sustainably, from the riches' offered by the vast maritime waters of Pakistan. Mindful however that adjacent sectors need to play their role with effective policy-making, legislation, and particular emphases placed on the collection of marine scientific data, capacity-building, facilitating stakeholders, and maritime governance, from an integrated mindset.

Khalid Rahman is Executive President & Director General of Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad

Notes

1. Hoegh-Guldberg, O. et al. 2015. Reviving the Ocean Economy: the case for action - 2015. WWF International, Gland, Switzerland, Geneva, 60 pp.
2. MFF Pakistan (2016). A Handbook on Pakistan's Coastal and Marine Resources. MFF Pakistan, Pakistan. 78 pp.
3. IUU - illegal fishing is conducted by national or foreign vessels within the marine waters of a state, without permission and in contravention of applicable conservation laws and management regulations. Unreported fishing is referred to unreported or misreported fishing, whereas unregulated fishing is conducted by vessels without nationality, or by those flying the flag of a state not party to the organization tasked with the conservation and management of fish stocks in a manner inconsistent with the international law.
4. "Can Landlocked Countries Develop a Blue Economy?" Ship Technology. Accessed June 23, 2019. <https://www.ship-technology.com/features/can-landlocked-countries-develop-blue-economy/>.
5. The Quran mentioned water bodies 32 times. Also see (17:66-67), (30:46), (31:31), (42:35). [دو جہان کی تخلیق و تفسیر القرآن مجلہ ۱۰۰](https://quran.ksu.edu.sa/). Accessed August 01, 2017. <https://quran.ksu.edu.sa/>.
6. A number of books of Hadith account the traditions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on sea expeditions in separate sections. For Instance; Sahih Al Bukhari, Kitab al Jihad wa Al Siyar, Bab Rukub al Bahr, 2894-2895, Sahih Al Muslim, Kitab al Imara, Bab Fazl al Guzw Fi al Bhr, 4819-4821, Sunan Abu Dawud, Kitab al Jihad, Bab Fazl al Guzw Fi al Bhr, 2131-2132.
7. Pakistan Maritime Academy is a degree-awarding institution in Karachi. Yet its scope is not very wide. Similarly, Bahria University Karachi Campus offers degrees in Maritime Business, Trade and logistics, and International Maritime Laws. Whereas, Chief of the Naval Staff Admiral Zafar Mahmood Abbasi while addressing a gathering at the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, on January 24, 2018 announced the launch of a maritime university in Pakistan. However, until now there seems no progress on the ground.
8. Summary for The National Economic Council (NEC) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) National Framework. Planning Commission Ministry of Planning, Development & Reform, 2018. https://www.pc.gov.pk/uploads/report/National_SDGs_Framework_-_NEC_2018.pdf.
9. These bodies include the Balochistan Coastal Development Authority and Sindh Coastal Development Authority. The federal government can legislate on the matters of ports, harbors, maritime navigation, carriage of goods and passengers by sea and port quarantine. Please refer to the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, and the Federal Legislative List.
10. MMA is currently responsible for Gwadar Port Authority, Government Shipping Office, Karachi Port Trust, Mercantile Marine Department, Pakistan Maritime Academy, Pakistan National Shipping Corporation, Port Qasim Authority, Ports and Shipping Wing, Karachi.
11. Sesli, F. Ahmet, Aziz Sisman, and Aydinoglu A. Cagdas. "Coastal legislation and administrative structure in Turkey." Scientific Research and Essay 4 (12) (December 2009): 1445-1453.
12. Anne Marie O'Hagan, J. Andrew G. Co. "Extant Legal and Jurisdictional Constraints on Irish Coastal Management." Coastal Management 29, no. 2 (2001), 73-90; Heemskerck, Mathew. "National Efforts at Integrated Coastal Zone Management: The Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Experiences." Dalhousie Journal of Legal Studies, 2001, 158-181.
13. Recently (December 2018) Pakistan Navy has launched a document titled as "Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan, Preserving Freedom of Seas", (MDP). While the document is useful in giving an overview of various components of the maritime sector it can best be regarded as an effort to disseminate broad knowledge on the national maritime sector and maritime economy.



ENTERING NEW ERA OF DEVELOPMENT & INNOVATION

The brand name for quality in logistics, National Logistics Cell (NLC) offers quality services including construction of mega infrastructures, dry ports & border terminals, toll collection, skill development and wide-range of concrete products and rubber parts. Recently we have successfully launched other businesses like NLC Freight Train, Marine Services, Service Areas on Highways & Motorways, IT Solutions, Transport Fleet Management System and tourism. NLC endeavours its best to contribute towards growth of economy and overall national development.



Marine Service



Transport Fleet Management System



IT Solutions



NLC Freight Train



Polymers



Construction Solutions

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES TO PAKISTAN



Air Cdre Kashif Jamal Khan

Abstract

World today is experiencing an inflexible posturing of states, where competitors use hybrid forces to destabilize adversary through extended campaigns of exhaustion. In the realm of Realpolitik, the canvas of inter-states conflict is widened to an undefined battle-space seeping into all possible strands of national power. Similarly, notion of security is broadened from its territorial integrity and political sovereignty to non-traditional or comprehensive security involving non-military spectrum of threat. As per emerging geo-political situation, Pakistan seems in the eye of the storm while confronting with multi-dimensional challenges like simmering trust-deficit with USA, turbulent Afghanistan, spill-over of muddling Middle-East, Indian hegemonic aspirations translated by its hyper-militarization, Indo-US nexus and anxiety spikes over CPEC project. Pakistan's rivals have also been devising various direct and indirect strategies to diminish its relevance and coerce it to the stage of Pliancy. With the overt nuclearization and adoption of full spectrum deterrence by Pakistan, any military misadventure appears cost-prohibitive for its adversaries, thus giving much prominence to non-traditional threats in its overall security paradigm. In this hybrid threat calculus, a host of external factors, environmental enablers and internal fissures remain matter of grave concern for Pakistan. Hence, the complexity, diversity and existential character of these non-traditional security challenges merit contemplation and a comprehensive response on national-level.

Keywords: *Non-Traditional Threats, Economic Instability, Terrorism, Natural Disasters, Climate Change, Cyber Warfare, Water Scarcity*



The famous Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu states, “To win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill”.¹ The axiom of Sun Tzu is being endorsed in today’s modern warfare in the post-Cold War scenario. The world today is experiencing an inflexible posturing of states, where competitors use hybrid forces to destabilize adversary through extended campaigns of exhaustion.² In the realm of Realpolitik, the canvas of inter-states conflict is widened to an undefined battle-space seeping into all possible strands of national power. Similarly, notion of security is broadened from its territorial integrity and political sovereignty to non-traditional or comprehensive security involving non-military spectrum of threat. According to Ichael H.H. Louw, “National Security includes traditional defence policy and also the non-military actions of a state to ensure its total capacity to survive as a political entity in order to exert influence and to carry out its internal and international objectives”.³

Pakistan’s security environment derives its origins from the circumstances, in which a nascent state was created under a hostile overhang with her neighbours. This inherent security dilemma still brews an unstable and tense security environment in the region. The interplay of “Great Game” among global powers, driven by power politics and geo-economics, has further compounded the complexity with the echoes of Pakistan’s Balkanization. As per emerging geopolitical situation, Pakistan seems in the eye of the storm while confronting multi-dimensional challenges like simmering trust-deficit with USA, turbulent Afghanistan, spill-over of muddling Middle-East, Indian hegemonic aspirations translated by its hyper-militarization, Indo-US nexus and anxiety spikes over CPEC project. Internal instability in Pakistan is being exploited by the external adversaries, who are now leaving no stone unturned to strangle and jeopardize the existence of this only Islamic nuclear state.

From Pakistan’s perspective as well, the term “national security” has also adopted broader

Pakistan seems in the eye of the storm while confronting with multi-dimensional challenges like simmering trust-deficit with USA, turbulent Afghanistan, spill-over of muddling Middle-East, Indian hegemonic aspirations translated by its hyper-militarization, Indo-US nexus and anxiety spikes over CPEC project

With the overt nuclearization and adoption of full spectrum deterrence by Pakistan, any military misadventure appears cost-prohibitive for its adversaries, thus giving much prominence to non-traditional threats in its overall security paradigm

connotations and remains no more confined to military threat. Pakistan’s rivals have also been devising various direct and indirect strategies to diminish its relevance and coerce it to the stage of pliancy. With the overt nuclearization and adoption of full spectrum deterrence by Pakistan, any military misadventure appears cost-prohibitive for its adversaries, thus giving much prominence to non-traditional threats in its overall security paradigm. In this hybrid threat calculus, a host of external factors, environmental enablers and internal fissures remain matters of grave concern for Pakistan. Hence, the complexity, diversity and existential character of these non-traditional security challenges merit contemplation and a comprehensive response at national-level.

Literature Review

Right on the onset, it is of essence to explore what non-traditional threats are; how these have been defined in the literature and what are their characteristics. Whether the definition suits our environment or do we need any modifications? To answer these questions, we take a lead from the work done by different authors. According to M Aydin, the world has witnessed a shift in focus from traditional to non-traditional threats mainly because of unipolar arrangements.⁴ The national security post-cold war concept was mostly distinguished between “hard / traditional” and “soft / non-traditional” security threats.⁵ This shift in strategy also revolves around the cost-benefit analysis associated with utilizing military or traditional threats on other states vis-à-vis the use of non-traditional methods. The effective non-traditional methods used by the US in successful disintegration of USSR also convinced policy makers to divert their focus from traditional military threats alone.

“Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Threat” or “Emerging Non-Security Issues (ENSI)” is a widely used term to generally define issues related to national security of a country and is not related





to traditional military threats. According to Khalid Iqbal, a former PAF Air Commodore, the definition of the term lacks preciseness, acceptability or authoritativeness.⁶ Mely Anthony defines these non-traditional security threats as “Challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, cross-border environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking and other forms of transnational crime”.⁷ While Mely realizes that NTS threats are challenges for national survival, yet her definition is narrowed only to non-military sources, i.e. she does not consider the use of covert military means to generate these NTS challenges. Moreover, her suggested list does not include contemporary challenges to Pakistan such as terrorism, economic instability etc. Saurabh Chaudhuri, defines “Non-traditional security issues in contrast to traditional security threats and refers to the factors other than military, political and diplomatic conflicts but can pose threats to the survival and development of a sovereign state and human kind as a whole”.⁸ This definition also realizes these challenges as a threat to nation’s survival and even to mankind but narrows its focus to informational, economic and cultural domains only (DIMEc). Ullman argues that the national security of a country should not be viewed only as military attacks from other states, rather the threats generated within a country has equal capability of undermining the stability of a nation. He gives equal importance to traditional and non-traditional threats and cautions that paying too much attention to military threats alone not only mislead but prove extremely dangerous to national survival.⁹

Articulation of Definition. Keeping in view the observations in earlier definitions presented by various researchers, the common characteristics of the term, Pakistan’s national security environment, geo-political and geo-strategic realities, this essay defines non-traditional security threats as “Easily spreadable, cost effective and relatively more unpredictable, natural or human-less military generated threats, which can degrade country’s economy thus threatening national security, and against which a comprehensive response by all elements of national power is considered extremely essential especially under no or vague international laws”.

If the end could be achieved by non-military method, even by methods of intrigue, duplicity and fraud, he would not advocate an armed conflict
(Chanakya Kautilya)

“We start working on Pakistan’s vulnerabilities; economic, internal security, political, isolating them internationally, it can be anything; it can be defeating Pakistan’s policies in Afghanistan, so go for more of the covert thing (against Pakistan)”

(Ajit Doval - Indian NSA)

Emerging Non-Traditional Threat Arena in Indo-Pak Context

During recent era, Indo-Pak scenario has emerged as a flashpoint of Hybrid warfare with widening non-traditional threat dimensions. In a post-nuclear environment, India devised Cold Start Doctrine, based on a “Quick Bite and Hold” manoeuvre without breaching Pakistan’s nuclear threshold. The same was checkmated and dispelled by Pakistan’s New Concept of War Fighting (NCWF) and full spectrum deterrence. Now under Modi-Doval Doctrine, India has accentuated non-traditional threat dynamics while tilting towards “Indirect Strategy” to destabilize Pakistan on social, economic, political, military and diplomatic fronts so that Pakistan ultimately fall prey to India’s “Compellence Strategy”. In his own words, Ajit Doval stated “We start working on Pakistan’s vulnerabilities; economic, internal security, political, isolating them internationally, it can be anything; it can be defeating Pakistan’s policies in Afghanistan, so go for more of the covert thing (against Pakistan)”.¹⁰ The Indian policy makers seem under the influence of their ancestor strategic thinker Chanakya Kautilya and his Vedic principle “Bheda”. According to Kautilya “If the end could be achieved by non-military method, even by methods of intrigue, duplicity and fraud, he would not advocate an armed conflict”.¹¹ The prevailing situation translates the same Indian mindset to attain their politico-military objectives in a cost effective way, without alarming the bells of “Jus in bello”, thus posing serious non-traditional security challenges to Pakistan.

Prioritization of Challenges for National Security of Pakistan

Literature review on non-traditional challenges to any country depicts an array of factors causing effects on national security. This





list includes Economic Instability, Terrorism, Demographic Challenges, Energy / Food Crises, Fragile Political System, Cyber Threats, Natural Disasters & Climate Change, Border Security, Water Scarcity, Foreign Policy Dilemmas, Refugees and Illegal immigrants, Organized Crime, Governance Issues, Foreign Influences etc. Any factor would have varied effect in a particular environment. For the purpose of this essay, the panel undertook a survey questionnaire from 50 participants with an aim to shortlist five most relevant non-traditional security challenges to Pakistan. The sample questionnaire is placed as “Appendix” to this essay. The survey result (depicted in Table I) shows that Economic Instability, Terrorism, Cyber Threats, Natural Disasters, Climate Change and Water Scarcity as those non-traditional threats, which have direct bearing on Pakistan’s national security and require immediate measures for mitigation.

Threat-1 (Economic Instability – The Most Critical Challenge)

Economy, being an extremely important element of National Power, emerges as a cornerstone in the edifice of a stable and sovereign

Economic plight fragments society, decays functional capacity of a state, erodes its military deterrence, induces political turmoil, which in turn weakens national security

state. In-fact, it is the driving force behind the entire fabric of society. Economic plight fragments society, decays functional capacity of a state, erodes its military deterrence, induces political turmoil, which in turn weakens national security. The military might with biggest nuclear arsenal could not avert demise of USSR in recent past which is evident by imbalance between economic growth and defense spending statistics in Table II.¹²

Pakistan is facing serious economic challenges which are evident through Low Key Performance indicators like weak economic growth, declining investment, stagnant industrial production, rising unemployment, large fiscal deficit, falling forex reserves and desperate external borrowing. One of the core attributing factors for this economic plight is the Indian rampant military build-up and hyper militarization. A hike of 5.43% in her defence

Ser	Factor Type	National Security	Economy	Morale	National Integration	Threat	Total	%	Rank
1	Economic Instability	351	485	401	353	452	2042	81.68	1
2	Terrorism	400	401	450	301	454	2006	80.24	2
3	Demographic Challenges	202	250	203	204	206	1065	42.6	15
4	Energy / Food Crises	303	301	350	200	167	1321	52.84	7
5	Fragile Political System	210	250	310	207	157	1134	45.36	11
6	Cyber Threats	313	402	354	353	350	1772	70.88	4
7	Natural Disasters & Climate Change	307	406	408	350	350	1821	72.84	3
8	Border Security	155	251	211	250	213	1080	43.2	13
9	Water Scarcity	311	421	350	350	302	1734	69.36	5
10	Foreign Policy Dilemmas	250	250	309	112	312	1233	49.32	9
11	Refugees and Illegal immigrants	122	250	212	250	233	1067	42.68	14
12	Organized Crime	278	332	345	212	277	1444	57.76	6
13	Governance Issues	211	254	303	200	208	1176	47.04	10
14	Foreign Influences	251	250	313	129	317	1260	50.4	8

Table I (Survey Result)

PERIOD	REAL GDP GROWTH	DEFENSE SPENDING AS % OF GDP
1928-39	4.2	2.0
1940-49	3.2	-
1950-59	7.1	9.0
1960-69	4.3	14.5
1970-79	3.4	13.9
1980-89	2.7	15.4

Table II (USSR GDP Growth vs Defence Spending)

budget of 2017-18 as compared to previous year aptly translates its aims to embroil Pakistan in arms race and drain its already fragile economic resources. India has also intensified its efforts to undermine viability of CPEC by propagating controversies and suspicions besides instigating subversive activities in Baluchistan. Indian clout uses their increased influence to scuttle Pakistan's export and labour market to decline our remittances. Likewise, rising mistrust and divergences between Pakistan and USA is also waning their economic relationship thereby further straining Pakistan's economy.

Some of the other glaring challenges in the economic domain are elaborated in ensuing sub-paragraphs.

Lower Tax Revenue. Tax system of Pakistan is quite complex and narrow with a dearth of accountability and sheer disparity in tax net, which

Tax system of Pakistan is quite complex and narrow with a dearth of accountability and sheer disparity in tax net, which inherently encourages evasion

inherently encourages evasion. High Tax-rates, coupled with tax multiplicity, create disincentives for tax-payers. It hardly remains about 10.5% of GDP with no incremental indicators over years as graphically depicted in Figure 1.¹³

Growing Fiscal Deficit. As per economic surveys in Pakistan, there is an alarming gap between revenue collection and expenditures of government. From total revenue, around 57% is given to provinces after NFC award, which further curtails economic capacity of federal government.

Rising Trade Deficit. There is a serious dollar gap crisis due to trade imbalance between imports and exports of Pakistan. Similarly, there is an evident declining trend of net investment in successive years which may be associated with deteriorating Internal Security. The trends are shown in Figure 2. Lack of focus on Human Resource Development and bureaucratic impediments for private sector also decline our export graphs.¹⁴

Accumulation of External Debt. Pakistan external debt in FY 2016-17 has swelled up to 81.5 Billion USD, in which around 73% is accumulated in last two decades as depicted in Figure 3. This debt trap may lead to an economic collapse cum

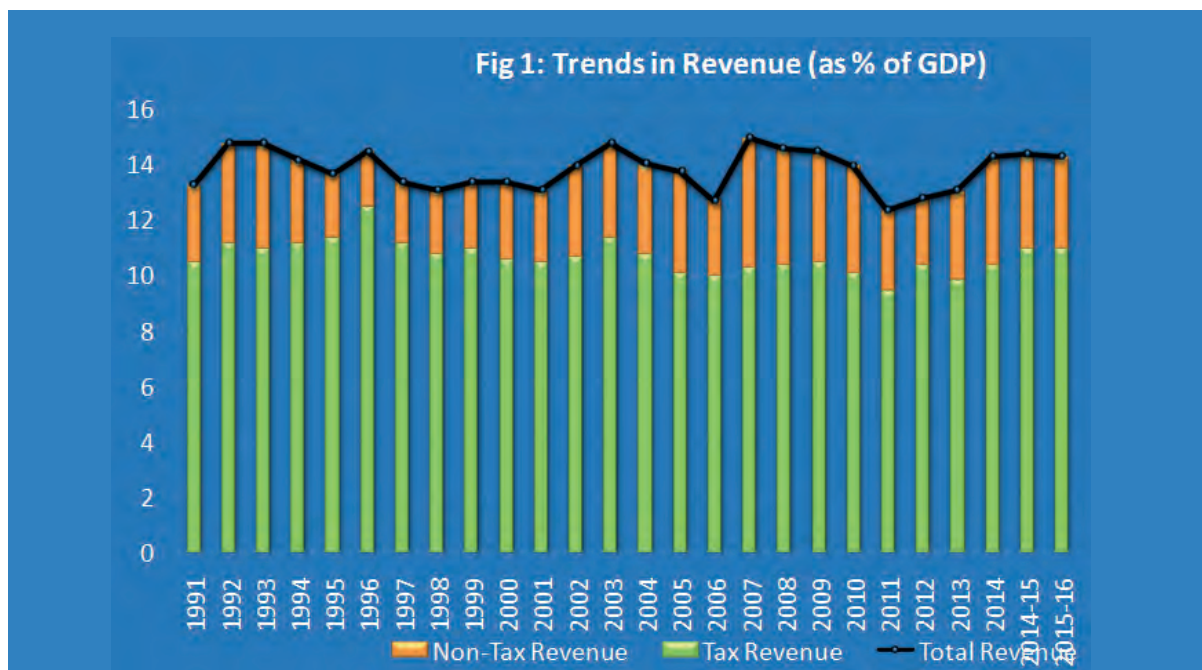


Figure 1 (Trends in Revenue as percentage of GDP)

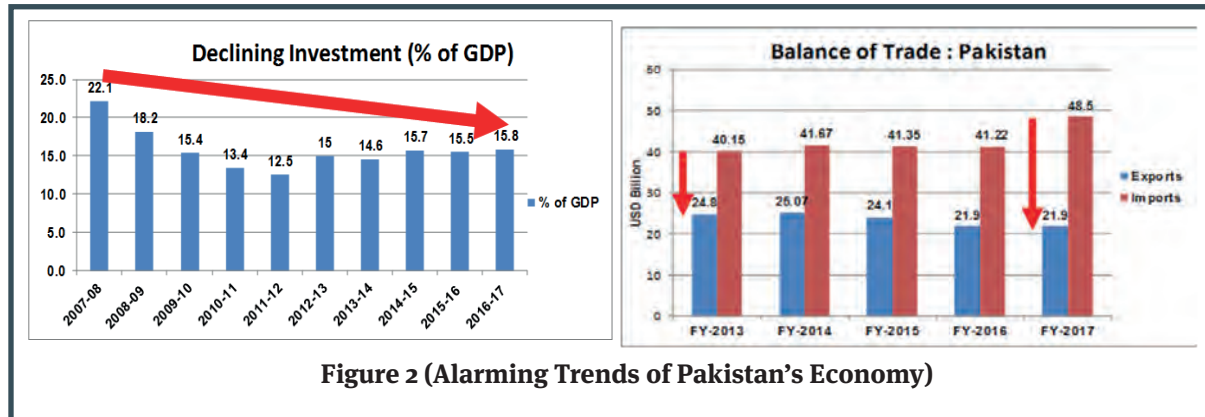


coercion to compromise on our national interests even of strategic nature.

Recommendations. To evade this economic regression, an immediate and serious attention from national leadership is deemed essential for Pakistan. Following few measures may be instituted:-

- Continue efforts to uplift overall economic stature through operationalization of CPEC, completion of Gwadar Port and implementation of National Action Plan

- Launch a concerted austerity campaign and curtail futile and superfluous expenditures across the board to shorten the gap between federal revenue and expenses.
- Broaden tax net with implementation of tax reforms, system accountability and transparent policies.
- Improve Human and Social Development Index through skill-enhancement programs and educational reforms.



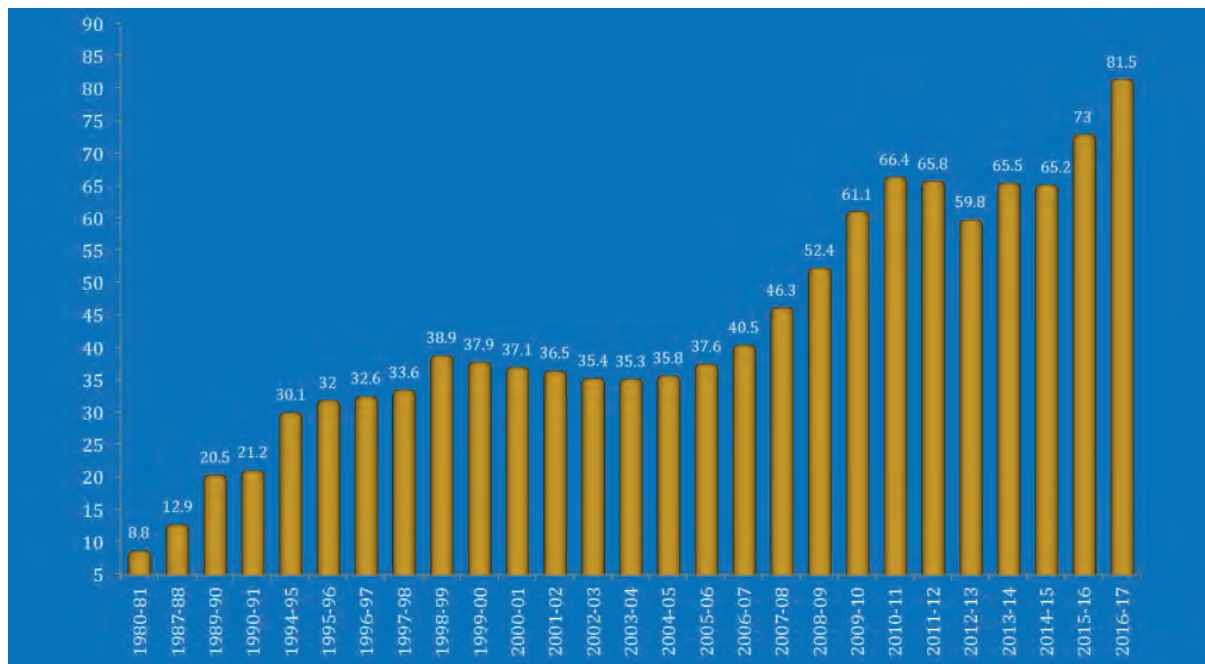
for improved Internal Security in pursuit of Foreign Direct Investment.

- Lower tax burden on manufacturing sector to promote and encourage our local industry.
- Curb speculative investments and trading in stock market, property and commodity holding by formulating industry-friendly economic policies.

- Provide ease of business to private sector through contract enforcement, effective regulatory framework, managing law and order and dispensation of justice.

Threat-2 (Menace of Terrorism)

The second non-traditional challenge, which has greatly affected our economy and is also considered as one of the most recognized and





visible threat to Pakistan's national security post 9/11, is Terrorism. Although considered as a global issue, this phenomenon not only threatens state security by undermining national authorities and the rule of law, it also undermines the security and well-being of individuals and societies. Pakistan is perhaps the only country which has paid an enormous cost both in terms of loss of human life and material damages.¹⁵ "Since Pakistan became frontline ally of the United States in war on terror after 9/11, the economy of this developing country suffered a whopping \$123.1 billion cost on account of loss of lives, economic opportunities and damage to the country's infrastructure".¹⁶ Moreover, Pakistan's engagement in the war on terror has cost her more than 6,700 lives of armed forces personnel, along with more than 15,000 soldiers wounded, and a civilian death count higher than 67,000 people.

The realization of terrorism being the greatest threat to Pakistan's national security is widely recognized by Pakistan leaders. Ex CJCS General Tariq Majid, while speaking on the topic, emphasized that "our greatest vulnerability today is trans-national sub-conventional threats and recurring natural disasters which usually require multinational cooperation to manage".¹⁷ Renowned economist Dr Ashfaq during a lecture at PAF Institute on 21 September, 2017 outlined various factors which literally crashed the efforts being made to boost the national economy. These factors included suicide bombings across the country, militant activities in Swat and tribal districts, assassination of Benazir Bhutto and imposition of a state of emergency in 2007 literally crushed the efforts being made to boost the national economy. We will have to take pain for our future; otherwise, there will be no tomorrow."

The next question to answer is that how this non-traditional challenge affects our national security and the role of international agencies and states sponsoring terrorism in our country. Robert E. Osgood Jr has defined national security as "nation's determination to preserve certain interests at all costs. Foremost among these national interests are: nation's integrity, political independence and fundamental political institutions".¹⁸ Besides the active involvement of various international intelligence agencies of different countries, the role of state sponsored terrorism within Pakistan by India is no more a hidden fact. The recent conviction of active Indian Navy service agent "Kulbushan Yadav" on account of conducting anti-state activities within Pakistan clearly determines the role of our arch enemy for inflicting damage to our national security by using a non-traditional method.

After the Army Public School incident, where large numbers of children were martyred by militants, "National Action Plan (NAP)" was

"Nation's determination to preserve certain interests at all costs; foremost among these national interests are nation's integrity, political independence and fundamental political institutions"

(Robert E. Osgood Jr)

unanimously approved by the Government. Operation Zarb-e-Azb and NAP (2014 onward) had a salutary effect on the security situation of the country. According to National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) Pakistan data, there is a progressive and significant decline in terrorist related incidents in Pakistan i.e. from 1816 terrorism related incidents in 2014 to 489 in year 2017.¹⁹ This decline in incidents involves many constructive measures taken by Pakistan which includes employment of troops in troubled areas for apprehension and prosecution of militants/terrorists, rooting out foreign militants, sharing of vital intelligence among the sister LEAs and friendly countries, banning of extremist organizations and hate literature and border fencing etc. Evaluating Pakistan's counter terrorism strategy and efforts over the years, we can conclude that the rapid decline in terrorist related incidents is a testament to the fact that Pakistan is on the right track in countering this non-traditional imposed challenge.

Recommendations. While Pakistan has taken concrete steps to eradicate the menace of terrorism yet there are certain actions we may like to adapt for further threat mitigation. Following recommendations are made in this context:-

- In addition to creating a strong counter narrative to terrorists, ideology, Pakistan also needs to exploit the strong and effective media / social media to defame terrorists, credibility.
- Cut financial sources of terrorist groups by curbing money laundering and drug trafficking in Pakistan, towards which a lot has already been done by the state.
- Control mal-propagation of local mosques and unregistered religious schools to incite sectarian rift.
- To pay in the same coin, Pakistan should come out of this defence strategy mindset and may consider to take the threat to the adversary.

Threat-3 (Natural Disasters and Climate Change)

Due to diverse range of terrain, Pakistan is susceptible to wide-ranging natural disasters i.e. floods, earthquakes, cyclones, heat waves, landslides, forest fires, receding glaciers, droughts and epidemics etc. In addition, climate change



is also causing extreme temperatures and severe heat / cold waves. Generally natural disasters cause higher number of fatalities than terrorism; however this aspect receives less focus and hence less funding.²⁰

Devastating earthquake of 2005 rattled the northern Pakistan and more than 100,000 casualties were reported. Floods manipulated by India in the last decade affected Pakistan severely. Dams constructed by India in IOJK are as lethal as any other war weapon against Pakistan, as these are potential sources of anthropogenic floods in Pakistan in peace as well as war time. Floods cause great loss to human life, agriculture and residential lands, plantation, animal livestock and expensive infrastructure.

Drought is another threat to security of Pakistan. Affected areas include Thar, Cholistan, Tharparkar, Kohistan and Western Balochistan. Drought in these areas resulted in human deaths, migration of thousands of people and killing of a large numbers of cattle. Another security threat is land-sliding due to topographical structure of northern Pakistan.

Response of a country to handle natural disasters is an indicator of its true power potential and hence should be given due priority. Though there already exists a number of institutes in Pakistan for disasters management like Federal Drought Emergency Relief Assistance (DERA) Unit, Federal Flood Commission, National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), Provincial and

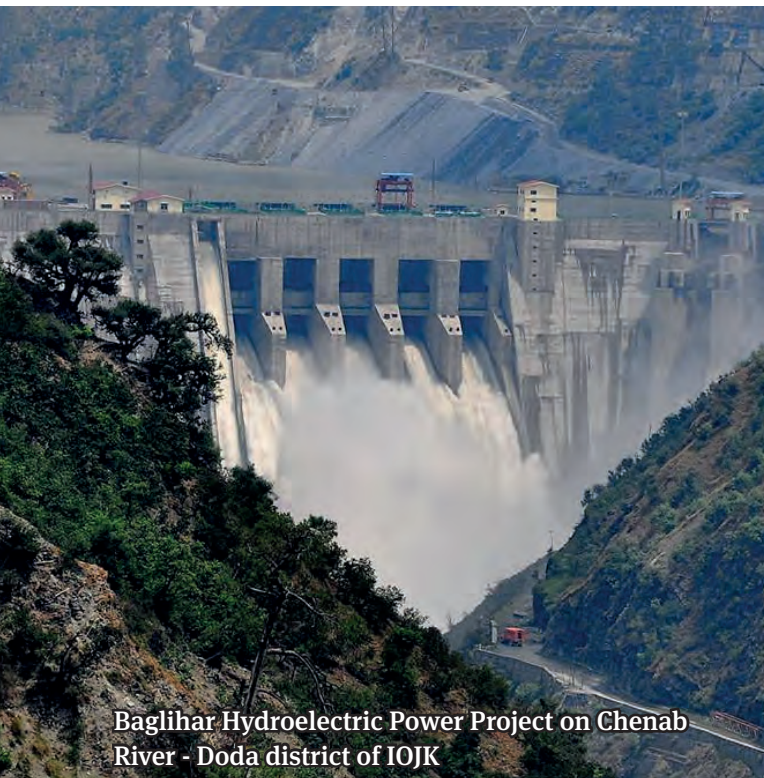
Dams constructed by India in IOJK are as lethal as any other war weapon against Pakistan' as these are potential sources of anthropogenic floods in Pakistan in peace as well as war time

District Disaster Management Authorities, and Fire Brigades at the town level etc. However in case of a disaster, mostly Armed Forces of Pakistan are seen in action.

One of the contributory factors threatening the national security in modern era is environment degradation, climate change and its cascading effects. Pakistan's economy is agrarian based and is highly sensitive to climate change as crop production may be seriously disturbed due to change in normal climate.²¹ A rise in temperatures leads to severe heat waves, cyclones and storms in tropical regions thereby causing more deaths. A natural melting process of glaciers is also accelerated which causes floods, rise in sea levels and its allied fallouts. Rising temperatures create a favorable environment for spread of communicable diseases, e.g. Malaria and Cholera etc. Thus climate change leads to serious threats to security of Pakistan and need to be considered as such.

Recommendations. To contain / minimize the ill-effects of natural disasters, following is suggested:-

- Disaster management may be taught as a subject in university education, and necessary training may be imparted.
- Research may be undertaken by qualified persons to mitigate the effects of natural disasters and climate changes in order to make a disaster resilient Pakistan.
- Early warning systems may be commissioned, installed and integrated with NDMA to minimize casualties in case of natural disasters. Highly vulnerable areas should be given special attention.
- Role of disaster management cell may be redefined so that it is not limited to cater only for after-effects of disasters (provision of relief), rather it should suggest and implement measures to prevent disasters.
- Integration of efforts for different actors, e.g. various institutes, ministries, departments, NGOS and even armed forces may be realized, to tackle the situations of emergency.
- Tree plantation campaigns may be run to plant plenty of trees all over Pakistan to control floods, prevent soil erosion and slow down the pace of climate change.



Baglihar Hydroelectric Power Project on Chenab River - Doda district of IOJK



Threat-4 (Cyber Warfare)

The Global Commons are considered as physical spaces that are not under direct jurisdiction of a country and hence demand for responsible management. These spaces and assets are relevant to all states around the globe for provision of connectivity to the rest of the world, e.g. sea lines of communication, air routes above seas etc. Cyberspace also falls under the purview of global commons.²² Cyberspace is a network of networks including thousands of Internet Service Providers (ISPs) around the globe. Cyberspace is used to share information and in the modern age of information it has been labeled as a new battlefield with no defined boundaries and hence a new threat to national security. Deterrence also does not seem to work for prevention of cyber warfare.

Cyber Warfare includes Cyber Attacks, Cyber Espionage and Cyber Sabotage. A Cyber-Attack causes compromise on computer security, confidentiality, integrity or availability of data. Cyber Espionage is a cyber-attack, launched by foreign intelligence services, against the confidentiality of a computer system. Cyber Sabotage is an attack against the integrity and availability of computer systems. Such cyber

The domains likely to suffer from cyber warfare include Energy, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Transport, Health, Finance and Insurance Sector, State Administration and Media etc

operations are launched by the adversary state or by non-state actors. The domains likely to suffer from cyber warfare include Energy, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Transport, Health, Finance and Insurance sector, State Administration and Media etc. Cyber has therefore been identified as a big security threat to a country. Cyber threats, if not addressed properly, may lead to catastrophic effects or even collapse of national systems.

Cyber Crime Bill was approved by Parliament of Pakistan in 2016 to process legal proceedings against the criminals. However, pragmatically defaulters can only be penalized within the boundaries of Pakistan and in many cases offenders remain anonymous. There are no explicit regulations at the end of United Nations, which define the rules of game among the nations. The number of instances of cyber attacks for inter-state cyber war is on the rise and poses a serious threat to national security of Pakistan. It is also alarming that the cyber war arena skids to non-state actors as well.



Media has reported a number of cyber attacks in the last few years involving, but not limited to, China, Russia, UK, Israel and the US. These states are considered to engage in cyber-conflicts with other states in order to tap classified military information. US has even blamed Russia for manipulation of US Presidential Elections 2016 which is a testimony of how national security of a country may be compromised through cyber-attacks.

Pakistan Armed Forces have already realized the potential and vulnerability of cyber world, and necessary actions are being taken. Comprehensive policies have been formulated to deal efficiently with the threats arising through social media, use of flash drives and malwares etc. However such measures are required to be extended to national level by all the stake-holders.

Recommendations. Following few recommendations are made to cater for potential cyber threats, which may jeopardize security of Pakistan:-

- All network based computer systems of government organizations must be decoupled from the internet.
- Cyber-crime bill 2016 may be implemented in letter and spirit and defaulters need to be penalized strictly.
- Proper monitoring of cyber activities may be realized at the national level.

Threat-5 (Water Scarcity)

The 21st century is coined as “Thirsty Century”, as it is expected that future wars would be triggered over water control due to depleting water reservoirs and booming world population. From Pakistan’s perspective, water shortage with reducing streams in its rivers running from India, has assumed an alarming state. With Indus river system starting



from Manasarovar Lake in Tibet crossing through IOJK and finally entering Pakistan, control of Indus River and its tributaries remains with India. Besides its ideological connotation, Kashmir issue has a direct linkage with control of Indus water and is therefore declared as Jugular vein of Pakistan. Owing to construction of Sallal, Wullar, Baghlihar, Kishenganga dams by India and construction of underground structures in the river beds; Pakistan receives around 22,000-25,000 cusecs, which is less than half of its share.²³ India, being the upper riparian has constantly been violating the Indus treaty since 1960. This offensive posture has become part and parcel of Indian indirect strategy thus posing a serious non-traditional threat to Pakistan's security.

Associated Factors. The other associated factors, which further compound the prevailing water disaster, are as follows:-

- **Population Boom.** Pakistan's population is galloping towards 250 million in just a few years' time leading to extensive shortage of per capita water availability. The graphical index of population growth and water availability per person is shown in Figure 4.²⁴ Red line shows population incremental hike while Blue line translates proportional water availability decline from more than 5000 CM per person per annum at the time of independence to less than a 1000 CM (scarcity threshold). Green line

Owing to construction of Sallal, Wullar, Baghlihar, Kishenganga dams by India and construction of underground structures in the river beds; Pakistan receives around 22,000-25,000 cusecs, which is less than half of its share

shows water management and efficient usage of surplus water available during summers through increased storage mechanism.

- **Insufficient Reservoirs.** Pakistan suffers from losing 13 million cusecs of water every year from its rivers into the sea, as it does not have enough storage reservoirs despite enormous potential of dam sites construction. Some of the prominent surveyed sites and their potential are depicted in Figure 5.²⁵
- **Dams' Silting.** Live storage in the available reservoirs is depleting due to silting up. The existing storage reservoirs at Tarbela, Mangla and Chashma are losing their capacities at a rapid rate. Lack of periodic maintenance also increases this phenomenon.
- **Seepage.** Feeding canals are not lined, which induces seepage. Around 20 to 25 % of the usable 103 Million Acre Feet (MAF) of irrigation

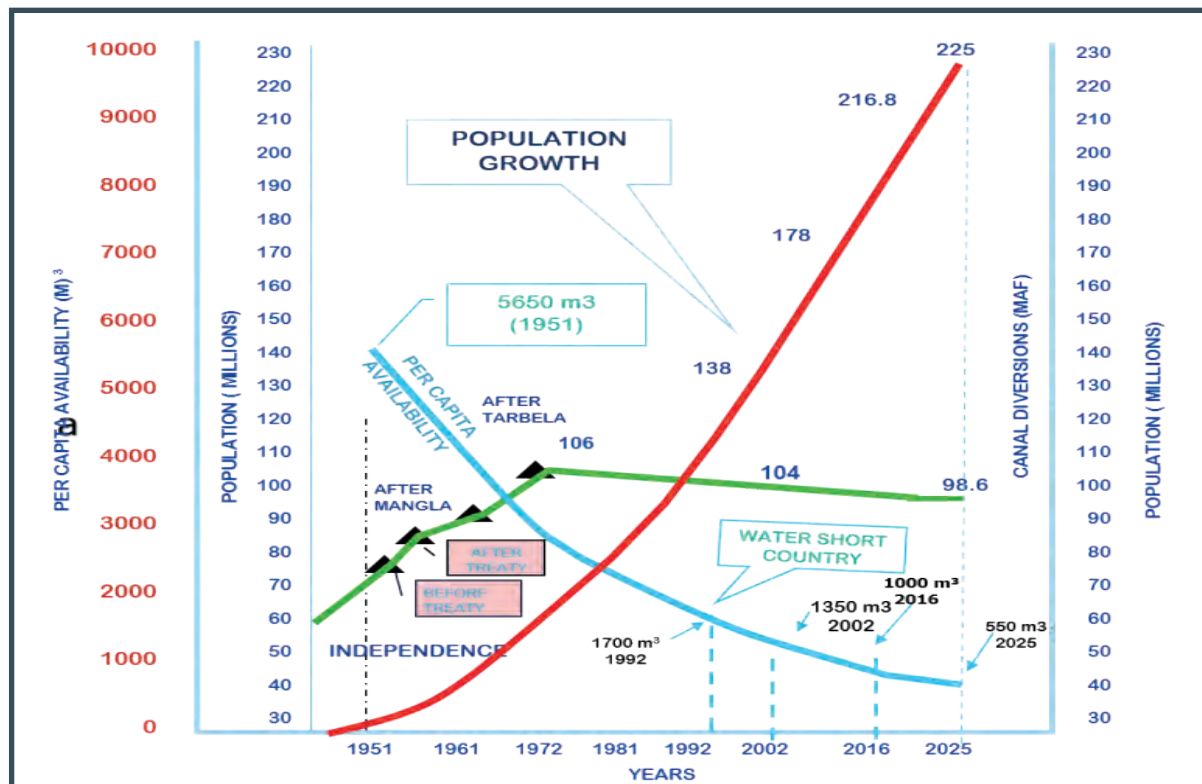


Figure 4 (Population Growth vs Water Availability)

Project	River	Height of Dam (FT)	Storage (MAF)	Power (MW)	Status
Yogo	Syhok	540	4.82	1000	Reconnaissance study completed
Skardu	Indus	755	15.52	4000	Reconnaissance study completed
Bhasha	Indus	660	5.7	3360	Feasibility study completed
Kalabagh	Indus	260	6.1	3600	Feasibility study completed
Kalam	Swat	450	0.26	110	Reconnaissance study completed
Mir Khani	Chitral	410	0.58	150	Reconnaissance study completed
Khazana	Panjpora	380	0.56	110	Reconnaissance study completed
Munda	Swat	700	0.67	740	Feasibility study completed
Raised Mangla	Jhelum	428	3.1 Additional	180 Additional	Feasibility study completed
Naran	Kunhar	640	0.25	219	Reconnaissance study completed
Suki Kinari	Kunhar	525	0.12	662	Reconnaissance study completed
Patind	Kunhar	425	0.1	133	Reconnaissance study completed
Total			37.69	14257	

Figure 5 (Surveyed Sites for Dams in Pakistan)

water is wasted due to our inefficient system of irrigation.

- **Uneconomical Water Management.** Not using modern techniques of irrigation like sprinkling increases the shortage. Likewise, about 50 percent of the water loss occurs due to uneven fields. From 2010 to 2014, 112 BCM worth US \$ 46.0 Billion of water has been wasted only during the flood.
- **Random Crop Pattern.** Rice and sugar cane crops consume large quantity of water. Farmers tend to grow them due to their good price and abundance of sugar mills. Likewise, there is no trend of cultivating alternate food products having same nutrition value but less water consumption.
- **Effects of Urbanization and Industrialization.** Growing urban and industrial use of water is also contributory factor.

Recommendations. Following measures are to be adopted to deal with the water scarcity threat:-

- Construct new dams along with raising of Mangla dam on emergent basis.
- Inculcate awareness and introduce

modernization for economized use of water beside adoption of change in crop patterns and varieties.

- Continual efforts to develop consensus on Kalabagh dam as a long term option.
- Undertake research to minimize evaporation losses and recycling of agricultural and civil effluents.
- Form a panel of technocrats and law experts to resolve legal agreements with India either bilaterally or through international forums.

Conclusion

Entangled with an inherent security dilemma, ascending geo-economics in South Asia and in the wake of global strategic realignments, Pakistan is witnessing turbulent times swaying between traditional and non-traditional security challenges. The reorientation of threat dynamics, beyond military dimensions, has virtually blurred the civilian and military boundaries unleashing serious economic and security contests for Pakistan. With the advent of comprehensive security concept, cost and consequences of conventional conflict and balance of deterrence between two nuclear rivals, there seems a remote possibility of an all-out war. Similarly, notion of



victory seems transforming from territorial gains to informational ascendancy. Hence, Pakistan's threat perception is also stretched towards a wide array of non-traditional domains, propelled by multiple fissures and environmental enablers.

The annals of history amply prove that despite being in hot water since decades, Pakistan has always emerged as one of the most resilient nations. Pakistan is a land of opportunities with immense connectivity potential and a gateway to economic regional integration. There seems a tough way ahead but a bright future. Blessed with over 200 Million population, a vibrant youth, conviction of CPEC accomplishment, an evolving democracy, subsiding terrorism, and a strong military instrument, Pakistan is fully capable to mitigate all such security challenges through a proactive and wholesome national response. It is need of the hour to realize that strong political will, national solidarity and synergetic application of all elements of national power become cardinal imperatives. Now, it is no longer possible to rely on military means alone to safeguard National Security and thwart non-traditional threats.

Notes

1. Sun Tzu, "The Art of War" In Strategic Studies (Routledge, 2008), 39.
2. Williamson Murray, and Peter Mansoor, HW: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21.
3. Ajay Patnaik, and Anuradha M. Chenoy, Traditional and Non-Traditional Threats to Central Asian States (KW Publisher, 2011), 87.
4. Mustafa Aydin, Non-Traditional Security Threats and Regional Cooperation in the Southern Caucasus (Istanbul IOS Press, 2011), i-xii.
5. Niklas Swanström, "Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Threats in Central Asia: Connecting the New and the Old", China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2010), 35.
6. Khalid Iqbal, "Contours Of Non-Traditional Security Challenges: Global, Regional& National Perspectives, A Top Down Appraisal".
7. Mely Caballero-Anthony, "Non-traditional Security Challenges, Regional Governance, and the ASEAN Political-Security Community", Asia Security Policy Working Paper No.7, (2010).
8. Saurabh Chaudhuri, "Defining Non-traditional Security Threats", Global India Foundation, 2011. <http://www.globalindiafoundation.org/nontraditionalsecurity.htm> (accessed on August 12, 2018).
9. Richard H Ullman, "Redefining Security", International Security, Summer", vol. 8, No 1, MIT Press, Massachusetts. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/84675722/Redefining-Security-Richard-Ullman> (accessed on August 13, 2018).
10. Riaz Haq, India's Role in Quetta Bombing: A Conspiracy Theory?, Haq's Musings, August, 2016 <http://www.riazhaq.com/2016/08/indias-role-in-quetta-bombing.html>. (accessed on August 19, 2018).
11. R. Shamasastri, Chanakya Kautilya, Arthashastra, Translated into English, (1929), eBook, p370.
12. William Easterly and Stanley Fisher, "The Soviet Economic Decline", The World Bank Economic Review, Vol. 9, No. 3, September 1995, 341-371.
13. Ashfaq Hasan Khan, Ministry of Finance, Lecture delivered at PAF Institute on September 21, 2017.
14. Kaiser Bengali, Lecture at PAF Institute on September 18, 2017.
15. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Security Threats Confronting Pakistan.
16. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/206709-Pakistan-suffers-1231-bn-losses-in-terror-war> (accessed August 26, 2018)
17. Tariq Majid, General and Ex CJCSC, Non-traditional Security Threats Taking Centre Stage, Islamabad, October 22, 2008.
18. Robert E. Osgood, Limited War Revisited. (Westview Pr. 1979).
19. <https://nacta.gov.pk/terrorism-decline-in-pakistan/> (accessed September 03, 2018)
20. <http://www.soufangroup.com/tsg-intelbrief-natural-disasters-and-national-security/> (accessed August 20, 2018).
21. Divya Srikanth. "Non-traditional Security Threats in the 21st Century: A Review." International Journal of Development and Conflict 4, No. 1 (2014): 60-68.
22. James M. Keagle, "Non-Traditional Security Threats and Asia-Pacific Regional Cooperation". National Defense Univ Fort McNair Dc Center for Technology and National Security Policy (2012).
23. Iqtidar H Siddiqui, Hydro politics and Water Wars in South Asia (2010), 77.
24. Hisham Usama, The Vulnerability of Pakistan's Water Sector to the Impacts of Climate Change, International Institute for Sustainable Development, Canada, 2016.
25. WAPDA Vision 2025, <http://waterinfo.net.pk/sites/default/files/knowledge/Wapda%20Development%20Portfolio.pdf>. (assessed September 08, 2018)



ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE FUTURE PROSPECTS IN NATIONAL AND DEFENCE RELATED ASPECTS

*A year spent in Artificial
Intelligence is enough to make
one believe in the God*

Alan Perlis



Major Rana Haseeb Ahmed

Abstract

The war doctrines are mostly result oriented methodologies dictated by the need and tailored by taking advantage of time, resources and space by subtle resource management and manoeuvre through tactics and strategies at points of application on certain time frames. Agility, resource distribution and calculations of time and space are key features of these doctrines. Clever manipulations in these entities can change the shape and type of war. If Artificial Intelligence is incorporated, advantage of time and space can automatically be gained owing to the quickest possible decision making through readily learned systems. This optimization may be started from systems at tactical level and may be integrated towards higher ends to meet the strategic goals. Thus, strategies can be modernized and redefined through Artificial Intelligence. Some of the potential applications of Artificial Intelligence in current systems are discussed in this paper to enhance capabilities of Armed Forces of Pakistan.

Keywords: *Armed Forces of Pakistan, Artificial Intelligence, Artificial Intelligence for Military, Modern Warfare, Augmenting Strategies through Artificial Intelligence, Modernizing Warfare Through Artificial Intelligence, Artificial Intelligence for Armed Forces*



Human intelligentsia has worked wonders through inventions, innovation and improvements in the computer science and technology. Artificial Intelligence (AI) is one of the most emergent fields in this regard empowering computers to act like human brains. Giving freedom to machines to self-learn and take better decisions through AI has vast benefits, foremost the elimination of human need to fully control the systems vis-à-vis eliminating the limits and restrictions posed by humans.

The whole gamut of Armed Forces has a variety of manual yet real-time systems including weapon systems and command, control & communication systems which involve humans. These systems can be automated and much refined using AI algorithms and robotics; not only to save the invaluable cost of time and resources, thereby gaining advantage over the adversary through subtle suggestive manipulation in manoeuvre, but also can increase the accuracy and lethality of weapon systems against the adversary.

AUGMENTING CAPABILITIES OF PAKISTAN'S DEFENCE

Advantages for Pakistan Army

Better Articulation of Firepower. Currently, fire support planning is carried out manually in Pakistan Army. While, a system can be developed to automate this process. Aiding the system with AI can help articulating the type, caliber and rate of fire of multifarious weapons through learning and refining cycle to consolidate Fire Support Plans at all tiers. This will give a competitive advantage of time to commanders at all tiers and flexibility in handling the battle by management of firepower in case of contingencies and change of plans.

AI has vast benefits, foremost the elimination of human need to fully control the systems vis-à-vis eliminating the limits and restrictions posed by humans

Economy of Effort and Better Management of Logistic Resources. Economy of effort through precise measurements and predictions can be achieved using AI. The weather and scenario-based calculations leading to better decisions along with associated actions, may change the shape of war environment. This can be learnt by example of road move. When a convoy move is planned by the staff (with chances of human error and miscalculations of routes and time), it takes some effort and time to prepare move tables to formulate the plan. Whilst the same may be quickly done using AI based solution, which can also suggest multiple move plans with better fuel-savings and optimized solutions for the Vehicle Routing Problem (VRP) or Travelling Salesman Problem (TSP),^[2] using different algorithms. AI system can aptly manage logistics stores at different levels to fulfill the need of all dependents by learning the demand and supply chain over a period of time in different formations.

Internal Security Situation Analysis.

Bombings and IED explosions have greatly damaged the Armed Forces as well as the civilian population of Pakistan. Systems storing crime information and predicting the areas of expected similar crimes in the future, are already in place in developed countries e.g. AI Research Portfolio of National Institute of Justice, USA supports areas of public safety video and image analysis, DNA analysis, gunshot detection, and crime forecasting^[3]. Similar AI based



A Bomb Disposal Robot

After learning, the AI-empowered system can suggest the most suitable deployment plans which can then be continuously updated during various scenarios being faced through sensory or human input

systems can be incorporated in our environment to deal with internal security situation analysis and prediction with help of AI generated heat maps to bring peace to the nation.

Deployment & Manoeuvre Assessment System. At present, the GIS and map solutions facilitate the Army in marking plans incorporating the enemy and own presence in an area. These plans have to be manually updated as dictated by the situations. If AI is incorporated in such applications, the system can learn through the marked plans by observing patterns including ground and terrain features, roads and tracks supporting various types of held vehicles, obstacles and their values, maneuverability and trafficability, Important Tactical Grounds, boundaries, gaps, heights, weapon siting and coverage, dead grounds, field of view and fire, permeability, cover and concealment of force in built up areas as well as in other places for cover from view and fire of direct and indirect weapons. It can also optimize the selection of siting various weapons in an area by considering the crest clearance, terrain and range calculations. After learning, the AI-empowered system can suggest the most suitable deployment plans which can then be continuously updated during various scenarios being faced through sensory or human input. Based on the previous learning and existing data, the AI system can also suggest maneuverability at some scale owing to the limitations of road classification, ground and weather. This can then be utilized to generate a war environment on maps and simulate the probability of outcome by exercising different contingencies under different operations of war.

Robot controlled vehicles, mounted with Robot Operating System (ROS), will eliminate human limitations of space, injury, fatigue, human logistic needs, heat, visibility, hearing and many more issues

Application of Reserves. Currently reserves are launched through manual process on the report of local commander when part of his force has been overrun by the enemy. If life sensors are attached to the bodies of personnel and these sensors communicate with a system to monitor their condition, then greater visibility and ease of decision can be imparted to the higher commander. This system can then be made intelligent by AI to

exactly let the commander know at which point and when to launch his reserves. Crucial role of higher levels of reserves can also be managed by AI based systems. The intelligent system may also predict timeframe of launching reserves thus preparations can be made earlier and can suggest what type and level of reserves should be launched if the system has been taught about the force compositions.

Robotic Armored Tanks. Currently tanks and APCs are manually operated by humans. AI commanded and robot controlled vehicles, mounted with Robot Operating System (ROS), will eliminate human limitations of space, injury, fatigue, human logistic needs, heat, visibility, hearing and much more many issues. This will also save invaluable human lives on frontline during the assault phase of an attack. Such vehicles can be redesigned for robust usage, more maneuverability and speed in different contingencies of battlefield including ruggedness against terrain, obstacle crossing of every kind, presentation as smaller target and can also fire rapidly and precisely by removing human errors. These elements can prove to be a force multiplier in defence and all other operations equally.



Modular Advanced Armed Robotic System



Advantages for Pakistan Air Force

Pilotless Aircrafts. Currently the auto-pilot system in an aircraft can adjust it to fly on a predestinated path. But it can't offer maneuverability in dogfight encounters with the enemy aircrafts. Incorporating AI into the system can make it semi/ fully automated manoeuvre system independent of the need of pilot. Since human body limitations don't allow pilots to manoeuvre at higher G-force rates which could otherwise cause onboard medical issues including bleeding, blindness, red-eye effect, pressure on brain, thus limiting maneuverability of the aircraft design. Introducing AI in its flight computer, can render it pilotless, thereby eliminating such limitations. This will also save internal space of aircraft and eliminate the need of ejection seat mechanism.

Air Assets Management. Assets of Pakistan Air Force contain tactical as well as strategic aircrafts which are placed at different bases as per operational needs. AI based system can be used for placement of these assets on different FOBs as per threat levels, the requirements and support roles for own forces, available resources, observations of the enemy's flying patterns, type, operational capabilities and limitations of own and enemy's aircrafts.

Aid in Air for Quick Decision Making. Pilots have to make quick observations leading to quick decisions during flying especially in an air-to-air combat. If the flight computer is aided with AI, it can be of great help to the pilot by immediately suggesting him the best choices available on urgent needs of decision. For example, while approaching an enemy location covered by enemy's radar and facing multiple air threats from multiple directions, AI based computer can check the current armament store, choose the best suited weapon against the enemy's aircraft as per range who is threatening the most to own aircraft with maximum hit probability while keeping in view

This decision can be semi or fully automated by an intelligent system to either auto eject the pilot well in time when nothing can survive the aircraft, or, to tell pilot to avoid ejection in case the aircraft can safely approach the nearest runway

the readily available information of the weapon specifications installed on that specific type of enemy aircraft to engage it at standoff distances; so does it can do with the Surface to Air Missiles. While a pilot may be too busy in engaging the enemy, the status of various aircraft instruments can be observed and maintained by AI with suggested measures taken by the system and notifying further actions requiring pilot's attention. This will save pilot from getting distracted by the issues. This can auto compute the operational range at current speed, fuel and height and can suggest the approachable runs within range.

Life Saver for Pilots. When an aircraft is hit by a missile or flak, an eye-blinking time in milliseconds is the only and maximum time allowed for pilot to take decision of ejection, failing which might cost him his life. Such decisions are taken by pilots sometimes when it is too late and the aircraft either bursts and vanishes into thin air including pilot, or, if it is partially hit, then it might hit the ground soon. This decision can be semi or fully automated by an intelligent system to either auto eject the pilot well in time when nothing can survive the aircraft, or, to tell pilot to avoid ejection in case the aircraft can safely approach the nearest runway.

Air Manoeuvre Learning. "Deep Learning AI" can be very helpful by learning the patterns of enemy's flying formations. The system may capture the patterns and composition of enemy's sorties flown across the border from different airbases to learn the potential dangers including type and number of aircrafts. This will not only immensely improve the efficiency of our pilots in the dogfights but will also reveal the enemy's intent and type of formations maneuvering during any event. Powerful radars capable of looking beyond the borders or the airborne platforms especially, Early Warning Airborne & Control System may be used in this regard. Airbattles include extensive maneuverability depending on skills of pilots. Although the advancements in air-to-air combat technologies like Beyond Visual Range (BVR) have reduced the scale of dogfights however, there still exists some room for air combat tactics. Latest incidents of air to air stand-off between Pakistan and India is an example of active air combat involving some manoeuvre.



Pakistan's First Locally Manufactured Armed Drone



Right manoeuvre can be learnt through AI by extensive system learning by exercising and recording different manoeuvres under different compositions of aircraft formations including the maneuvers in historical skirmishes

Only the right manoeuvre on the situation so dictating, can ensure target engagement. This right manoeuvre can be learnt through AI by extensive system learning through exercising and recording different manoeuvres under different compositions of aircraft formations including the maneuvers in historical skirmishes.

ECM and ECCM Management. Electronic jamming, anti-jamming and counter-measurements go side by side during peace and war. Missiles and special equipment designed for the purpose, target electromagnetic emission sites specially radars and communication centers. AI models can be trained to learn about all the methods of frequency jamming/ scrambling expected from a hostile equipment. Own equipment can then be tuned and fortified to withstand jamming effects.

Advantages for Pakistan Navy

Air Fleet Management. Although currently there is no Aircraft Carrier held with Pakistan navy however, whenever it is acquired or built for Pakistan Navy, it will be a much vital asset for domination on the region. Its main power rests with the fleet of aircrafts which are the real punch into the enemy's face and thus are the reason to form the whole Carrier Strike Group including the aircraft carrier, ships and submarines. Functional and under-maintenance aircrafts on an aircraft carrier have impacts on naval air operations. To keep an eye on operational readiness and ensure maximum availability of these aircrafts, flight hours, health statistics including chronic issues associated with some specific tail numbers of these aircrafts and all other data needs to be maintained. In case of some critical operations for air superiority and supremacy, requiring more strength of aircrafts from nearby approachable bases can be provided. All this can be done using AI trained models knowing exactly what types of how many suitable and functional aircrafts are in hand within operational radius and how many are under maintenance. This model will then also be able to suggest the number of required aircrafts at particular places including the aircraft carries itself.

Search and Rescue Operations. These operations are very critical in nature owing to the wild nature of the sea. AI based systems can

be used to predict the metrological and oceanic conditions before conduct of such operations. AI systems may suggest timings and routes for safe approach and extraction in such missions.

Oceanography and Route Analysis. Submarines have to stay stealth and thus require special care to choose their routes and diving depths while keeping in view the conditions of rough sea conditions. AI enabled sonars and other systems supported by AI, can be used for the purpose. These systems will also chalk out the enemy's predefined routes, moves depths and grey areas of both sides.

AI based systems can be used to predict the metrological and oceanic conditions before conduct of search and rescue operations

Common Advantages for All Forces

Cost Reduction through Automation. The operational costs of sophisticated military equipment soar too high and are barely affordable for the Country owing to the struggling economy. Automation through AI can yield reduction of these costs thereby reducing burden on the economy. For instance, wherever deemed feasible, drones may be incorporated instead of fighter or bomber aircrafts whose operational and maintenance costs are much higher as compared to drones. So the USAF has introduced drones to reduce such costs^[4]. Similarly, the US Government has collaboratively developed F-35 Joint Strike Fighter with other countries including Turkey to share the astoundingly huge costs as one unit of this fighter costs around a whopping \$250 million besides the costs of R & D.



JF-17 Thunder



The operational costs of sophisticated military equipment soar too high and are barely affordable for the country owing to the struggling economy

Battle Field Decision Making. Globally, Decision Support Systems (DSS) with built-in functionalities and analysis tools DSS are being redefined through AI and are substantially impacting decision making [5]. Armed Forces of Pakistan have also inducted and self-built such systems for planning and decision making canvass of the battle field. However, Armed Forces needs to implement AI models to convert these into IDSS (Intelligent Decision Support Systems) to augment her command and control infrastructure. IDSS can literally change the thinking and planning dimensions by removing mistakes of the past and improve decision making, hence, improving command and control for commanders at all tiers. However, there is a need to assimilate AI in Pakistan's environment through research.

Precision in Target Recognition. With the AI model learning different shapes, sizes, colors, patterns and dimensions of targets through different platforms, over a period of time, the ground-based targets can be identified with friend or foe segregation by the AI aided system. This system may pass this information to all concerned platforms or may be self-configured to auto fire from the relevant weapons. Smart-2000 is a bomb which uses such AI-based image processing techniques for precision.

Fire Accuracy through Robotized Guns. Firing of weapons specially the mechanical guns involves humans, who may lower the hit probability owing to various human factors including natural characteristics of sight, heartbeat, breathing and other movements. The accuracy can be increased by using robotic arms and systems. These systems can also be empowered by capability of self-decision making through sensory inputs by AI trained models at the borders, extremely vulnerable posts, remote locations (like seasonal posts of Siachin where human life is too difficult to be sustained) and other remote locations in IS areas under SCW. Besides, the surface-to-surface weapons, surface-to-air weapons especially the anti-aircraft guns can also be robotized for

accuracy and quick response required in air threat situations. The indirect firing weapons are more sensitive to inaccuracies by human limitations. Such inaccuracies can be reduced to negligible levels through intelligent control and robotizing the guns. AI can virtually nullify the need of Gun Position Officer, gun laying staff and the observer. Moreover, incorporating self-loading through magazines via robots will eliminate human requirements. Once deployed, such independent-to-human gun positions can save human lives and can keep firing under the enemy's intense counter

IDSS can literally change the thinking and planning dimensions by removing mistakes of the past and improve decision making, hence, improving command and control for commanders at all tiers

bombardment when humans have to halt fire and take shelter to save their lives. The automated fire-observation instruments based on machine learning mounted on APCs or dedicated vehicles, can also save precious human lives. The feed from these instruments can also be provided to a remote observer through secure networks.

Quick Decision Making in Air Defence. The ground-based, airborne and naval radars along with the civil aviation radars can be integrated to develop a Common Operating Picture (COP) of the Pakistan's airspace. This, COP can effectively cover the predefined air-routes, dead grounds and corridors against the normal as well as stealth aircrafts owing to coordinated use of multiple radars simultaneously at various locations. All these can effectively be managed and covered through AI model learning for different patterns of aircrafts using many air corridors covered by different sensors and hence strengthening air defence. Some radars can look deep inside the enemy's territory, observing patterns and routines of enemy's aircrafts. So limited scale operating picture of the enemy can also be observed to learn her tactics, strongly and weakly patrolled areas and flying altitudes. All these integrated into a COP can be used by AI models to take independent and better decision for quickest possible response to shoot down enemy aircrafts and missiles which is direly required because of the supersonic cruising speeds of aircrafts and missiles today.

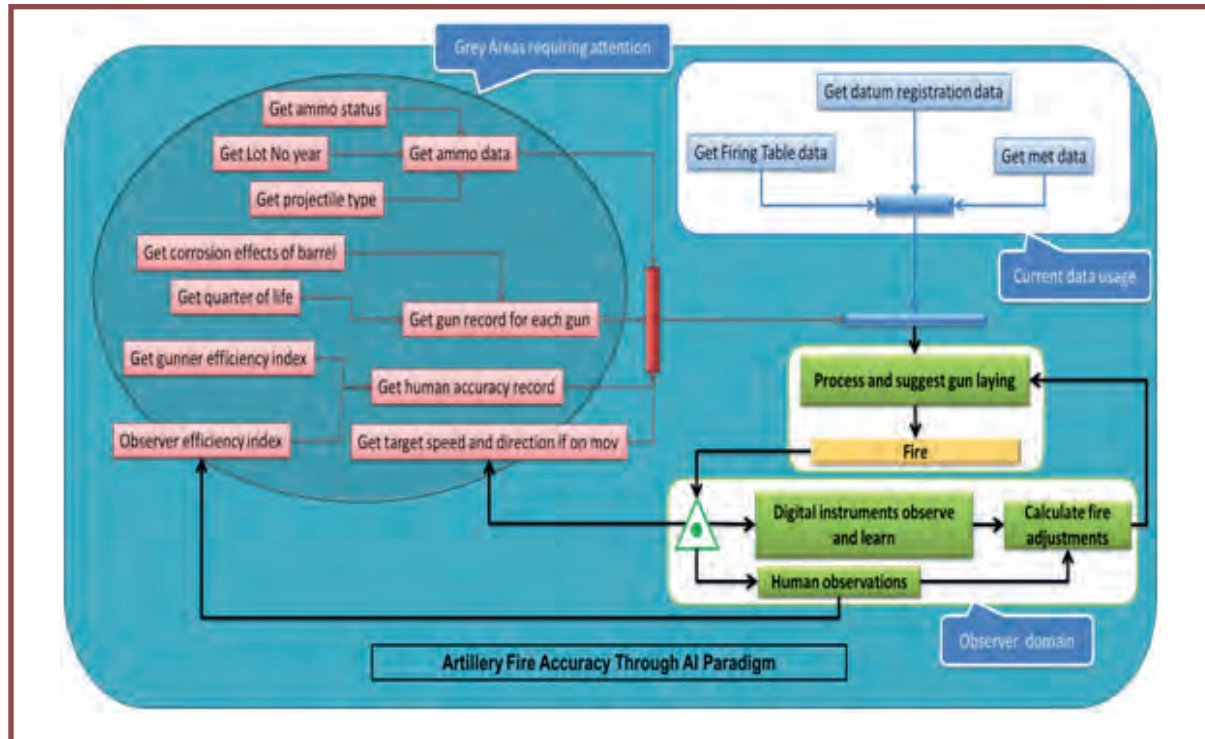
With the AI model learning different shapes, sizes, colours, patterns and dimensions of targets through different platforms, over a period of time, the ground-based targets can be identified with friend or foe segregation by the AI aided system



Besides, the surface-to-surface weapons, surface-to-air weapons specially the anti-aircraft guns can also be robotized for accuracy and quick response required in air threat situations

Auto Steering Systems. AI based cars are becoming common in the developed countries. Tesla is a shining name in this regard. Same idea

in the space. However, if the orbital data of all these satellites is known (TLE elements) then predicting the future locations of footprints of satellite instruments can be used to conceal strategic assets during move. AI models can be trained to learn exact timings of satellite coverage, thus, making robust and concealed move plans to predefined or arbitrary locations. Strategic weapons are deployed to balance out enemy's strategic plans not only to keep the deterrence threshold but also to gain significant advantage through potent threat to the enemy with a view



COP can be used by AI models to take independent and better decision for quickest possible response to shoot down enemy aircrafts and missiles

can be used in military vehicles to get rid of need of the driver and driver-related issues i.e. fatigue, loss of concentration, natural human needs, susceptibility to injury and life threats. Similarly, the existing autopilot system in the aircrafts can be upgraded. Moreover, with full autonomy on controls, the AI trained models can be used as a trained captain of the warships and submarines against the odds faced during sea travel.

AI for Strategic Forces. Move, deployment and shifting of strategic weapon systems in a concealed way is the essence of our strategic forces. This requires subtle and robust plans with smooth execution. In this era of satellites, it gets hard to conceal anything from the instruments

to scare away her malicious intentions. These deployments require thorough calculations owing to ranges to targets, enemy's anti-missile defence shields, stand-off distances from direct and indirect weapons, weather and atmospheric calculations and other factors varying as per launch platforms including aircrafts and naval assets (submarines and warships). These calculations can be aptly performed by an intelligent system deployed at strategic level for synergetic efforts amongst all forces and to keep 2nd strike capability.

Deep Learning in Electronic Warfare.

Electronically gained information is a bulk of data. Such data can be sorted by incorporating deep learning to not only learn the specific words

AI trained models can be used as a trained captain of the warships and submarines against the odds faced during the sea travel



Mission Shakti: India tests Anti-Satellite Missile

Recent attempt of India to destroy a satellite through Anti-Satellite weapon has put the satellites of regional countries in danger

being spoken but also the frequency and hopping patterns, encryption algorithms and ciphering patterns to quickly ascertain the true intent of the enemy by matching the communication with on ground movements. Radio interceptors receive bulk of information at various frequencies from all across the border as well as the SCW areas. Timely interpretation, deciphering and decryption of this coded information and separating it from “false alarms” can bring really fruitful results. AI system can be devised to learn frequencies and timings in phase 1, decryption in phase 2, speech synthesis, information filtering as per media type of info, weeding out false information and storing real information to train AI model and finally channelize this information with respect to various aspects including common-to-all channel in phase 4 in the figure (opposite).

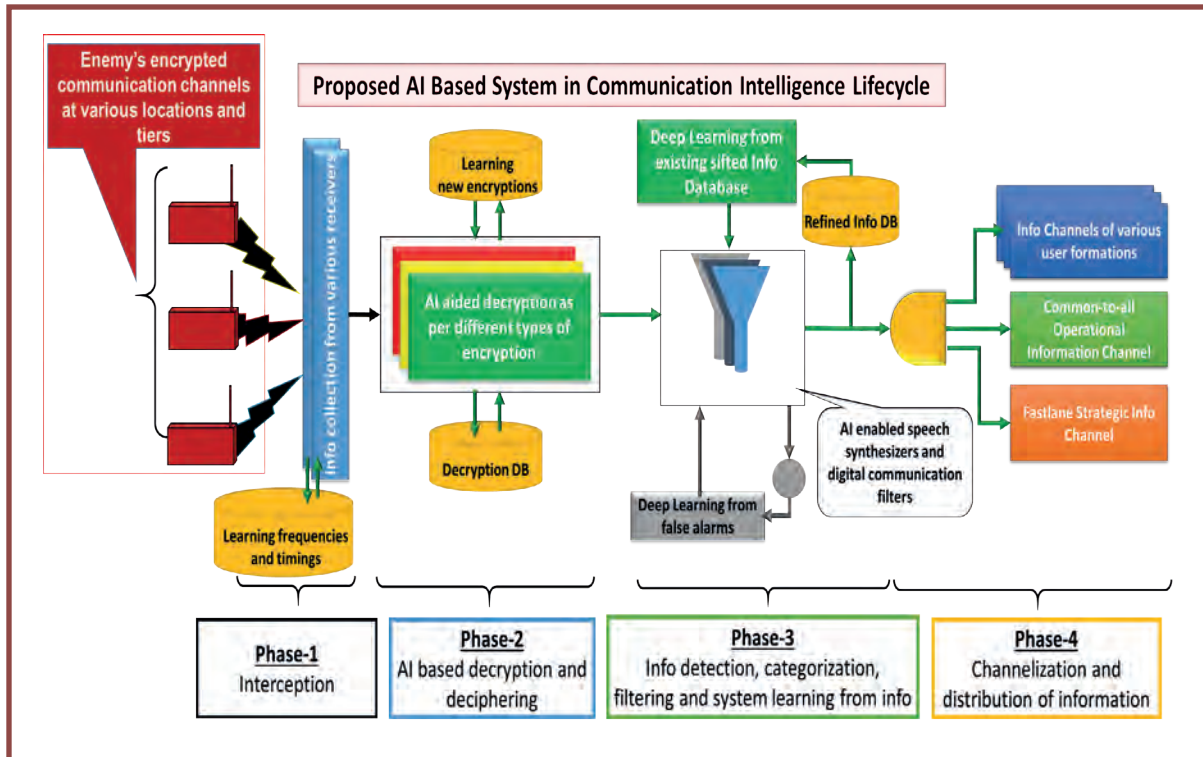
AI in Space Warfare. Recent attempt of India to destroy a satellite through Anti-Satellite weapon has put the satellites of regional countries in danger. While Pakistan was scarcely able to launch her first observation satellite, this experiment has put it in danger. India has as many as nearly hundred satellites of all kinds in the space portraying those many targets with multi-million stakes onboard. By using AI and Kepler’s orbital elements, the position of all those satellites movement patterns can be predicted. This predicted position can then be exploited by many ways including through anti-satellite weapons.

Terrorism Watch and Control. Most of the terrorism faced by Pakistan is part of a Hybrid War sponsored by adversaries to destabilize and sabotage peace and draw us strangling into an infinitely deep whirlpool of destruction. The sponsors finance to recruit locals by luring in through financial perks, by misleading and brainwashing. This dirty money is routed through terrorist financiers either directly or via some third party in another country. These complex financial networks need to be trace-routed and rooted out to save the innocent lives and efforts of Armed Forces of Pakistan.

India has as many as nearly hundred satellites of all kinds in the space portraying those many targets with multi-million stakes onboard

Implementing AI at National Level

AI in Defence Production. Car frames are being designed and evolved in light of aerodynamics and many other factors through AI in the modern countries. So is the case for a variety of applications requiring design engineering ^[6]. These applications include automobiles, aircrafts, vessels, nuclear reactors, building designs and machines. Thus, AI can significantly help in defence production through intelligent design solutions. Defence production is a major resource of generating economy in the developed countries. There is a need for Pakistan’s defence production sector to carry out research and develop state-of-the-art and advanced defence systems not only to modernize own forces but to support the suffering economy. The use of AI can enhance the production quality by design processing through AI. The 3D printers aided by AI, can also be used for accurate and rapid development of weapons



and defence equipment. The airframe design of the aircraft is a key aspect to achieve the desired maneuverability and other objectives. Pakistan has been developing her own fighter aircrafts (JF-17 Thunder). But such airframes are mostly manually designed by computer aided software. AI can help a lot in designing airframes from concept feasibility to the completion of design while fulfilling the objectives. It has the capability to learn from other airframes being used and create an own airframe design based on deep learning of aerodynamics and performance parameters of other airframes. This can also be used to develop stealthier and lighter airframes.

National Cyber Security. Cyber Security at micro organization level is important to complete the security mosaic of a community, city and the country. For instance, Army Networks has to be secured by Army to secure an asset of the country. So is the case with National Telecom Networks. Securing such segments can only ensure the national paradigm of cyber security. Thus, such segments can be secured using AI based encryption algorithms either by self-designing or through outsourcing. Security of cyber infrastructure lies with the national organizations. This is not only a sensitive matter but of paramount importance for business and communications of a country. Manual configuration and encryption of these communication lines are prone to information pilferage. This can be adequately countered by auto configuration and encryption of wireless and landline, submarine & satellite based networks of our country through AI trained models.

Climatic Risk Analysis and Management.

Global warming and other changes in climatic conditions in the region have been causing disasters including heavy flooding, avalanches and even earthquakes. This has also affected armed forces as in Gyari incident and many others. Such moves of the glaciers bring lots of troubles at the military posts by excessive water seepage, post flooding and breakage of bunker walls. This can even force the shifting of these posts to safe locations. Relocation of whole "Goma Cantonment" in Siachin, is the broad example in this regard. Flooding of cantonments like the Jhelum Cantt astride the river bank and many other places across Pakistan is another example. Such damages can be assessed for future and controlled using AI trained climatic models not only to assess the damage caused by the natural calamities but also the purposeful flooding in the rivers flowing through the territories of the adversary across the border. Fresh water is an already scarce commodity which is becoming dangerously low and may trigger future battles thus shaping future strategies. Lately, the water shortage has adversely impacted routine life in few Indian cities including Chennai which is one of top contributors of Indian economy through

AI can help a lot in designing airframes from concept feasibility to the completion of design while fulfilling the objectives



Baltoro Glacier - Pakistan

automobile production. Most of the water sources reside in the glaciated terrain of northern areas of sub-continent including Siachin valley. These rivers not only water the crops but also maintain the underground water levels for usage in daily life. Melting of these glaciers at alarmingly high rates, can cause rise in water levels in the rivers for few decades but will eventually reduce the water sources. AI models may be trained to learn the expected water shortfall across the country in the future.

Border Security Through AI. Terrorists have been infiltrating through Western border to carry out their attacks inside Pakistan specially in KPK and Balochistan. Such infiltrations need to be controlled through effective border management which can be done using AI-enabled technologies incorporating drones and ground based sensors to detect, track, inform and handle such infiltration activities. This may also save heavy investment of wired obstacles and can also cover those remote areas like the seasonal posts of Siachin and North Western borders where human living becomes impossible in winters.

Domestic Intelligence Sanitization. Domestic communication intelligence is bulk of data which needs a thorough processing for sorting and sifting to make it as actionable intelligence. Such data can be sorted by incorporating deep learning for multiple uses as follows:-

- To identify a person who is using any cell phone number or landline by voice pattern matching from existing patterns (learnt through AI) of suspects or other potentially dangerous persons for the country. AI implemented on communication networks, can learn the specific words being spoken.

- Detection of malicious persons can be done through face recognition aided by AI to learn such faces and immediately report such persons when seen by any security cameras installed at all entry, exit and transit places of all the cities.

Aid in Military Induction. Military induction is carried out through a sophisticated selection process. Currently, the selection is manually carried out using different tests including ISSB. This process needs to be made more comprehensive through digitization and incorporation of AI based tests for the candidates. This will certainly improve the induction standards and efficiency of the selection process.

Aid in Medical Field

Effort Reduction in Causality Management. Since future battlefield will be more robotized with lesser involvement of humans on the frontline, this will decrease the human casualties in the battlefield, thus, requiring lesser causality-evacuation and management.

Better Auto Diagnosis and Treatments. Tech savvy countries like Japan, have started using AI in their medical diagnosis. AI based computer program can act like a well-trained doctor with an experience of hundreds of doctors. This system is free from forgetting things and can diagnose the diseases with much more accuracy as compared to humans. Such systems can be used to obliterate

AI enabled technologies incorporating drones and ground based sensors to detect, track, inform and handle such infiltration activities...?



AI models can also be trained to envisage and evaluate the deductions of time and resources by application of different force combinations under different doctrines at different points of applications in a variety of scenarios

the gaps created due to the poor diagnosis leading to wrong treatment and hence medical complications.

Production of Better Medicines. AI can be used in statistical analysis of effectiveness and side-effects of various formulas and generations of medicines in a variety of diseases thus improving the quality against the exponentially growing diseases.

Precision in Surgeries. Incorporation of robotics will lead to precise surgeries which will minimize surgical errors and hence, lesser surgical complications.

AI in Regional Defence Realm

The current Indian Proactive Operations Doctrine suggests utilization of resources of Holding Corps to pave way for induction of Theatre Force Reserves through “seamless fusion”. This effort will be consolidated by induction of the “Balance Force” from Eastern Command reserves. Impact can be extended through subtle incorporation of AI in the defence sector as described in the start. This will not only achieve agility and save time but will also increase in aggressive actions through accuracy and precision besides saving costly resources including the invaluable human lives. AI based systems can predict the bias of enemy’s intent by revealing her true objective areas and concentrations with calculations of time taken to approach the objectives through all possible routes and achievement of precision through AI models processing the imagery of satellites and other resources. This information will feed and serve our forces specially the strategic forces to decide where and when to strike. Even this decision can be aided by clever AI models to calculate the success and impact ratios for different strike

options of various weapons. AI models can also be trained to envisage and evaluate the deductions of time and resources by application of different force combinations under different doctrines at different points of applications in a variety of scenarios.

AI system is free from forgetting things and can diagnose the diseases with much more accuracy as compared to humans

Struggle for power and regional dominance has increased after the economic growth opportunities have enhanced by using cheaper trade routes to the international markets. CPEC and Gwadar Port and One Belt One Road (OBOR) projects are the examples reshaping the future strategies. Securing the projects concerning Pakistan and their allied infrastructure is very important.

Latest cyber-attack on Iran by USA and historical ones including “Stuxnet”, ring alarms about evolving generations of warfare in the region. USA has already been fighting War on terror since long in Afghanistan costing much on Pakistan’s side as well. Pakistan has been under continuous trial by evolution of regional as well as international war-doctrines and generations of warfare. Therefore, Pakistan must focus on technological advances like AI as dictated by these doctrines and generations of warfare to steer into a secure future.

Media Warfare. On the front of 5th Generation Warfare, print, electronic and social media are playing an active role in propaganda and Twitterati war by manipulating public opinions on different matters including national security. The habit of brow-beating by Indian media through



Pakistan performs First Ever Successful Robotic Surgery in Karachi



propaganda warfare, is never ending even if their country is utterly beaten. The whole episode of Squadron Leader Abhinandan on 27 February 2019 on Indian media, reveals the same which was effectively encountered by our ISPR. Thus national narrative has to be spoken out loud to clear doubts of the adversary. This narrative needs accurate trends and probing in the societies of both countries. The AI can be used to learn different trends and patterns of the societies. These trends may deduce useful conclusions for application of force in different dimensions of our society to change the public opinion.

AI can be used to learn different trends and patterns of the societies. These trends may deduce useful conclusions for application of force in different dimensions of our society to change the public opinion

In South Asia, the social media trend is much more than many other regions playing with a variety of fault lines of the society including sectarianism, blasphemy, and parochialism. AI can also be used for internal security threat analysis using demographic datasets to effectively encounter the playing hands of these fault lines and bring peace and harmony in the society.

AI in Future Warfare

Military Modernization in Techno-Centric Environment. After successfully balancing the PAO Doctrine through NCWF Doctrine by Pakistan, the Indian think tanks have conceived Land Warfare Doctrine (LWD); the follow-up of the Joint Doctrine of Indian Armed Forces (JDIAF) 2017, with exclusive focus on Pakistan [7]. This

Doctrine dictates the modernization of military in techno-centric environment to off-balance the enemy (Pakistan) by causing substantial and unaffordable damage on multiple fronts including the non-contact domains such as cyber, space and information. This will be implied by induction of AI, quantum computing, nanotechnology, advanced weapon systems of hypersonic speeds, drones and big data analytics. This beats the war drum on multiple fronts for Pakistan. All of these fronts are required to be analyzed and covered through comprehensive and dedicated efforts by all concerned.

Roborder for Border Security. While facing an alarming issue of migrants coming into European countries, the EU is developing drones (Roborder) which will be piloted by AI and will be protecting the borders [8]. These might carry light weight weapons for the task. Swarm of such drones will become part of border security forces to counter illegal border crossings.

OFFSET Drone Warfare. Offensive Swarm-Enabled Tactics (OFFSET) programs are being evaluated and evolved in the United States sponsored by Department of Defence [9]. The concept envisages a swarm of drones to attack on the enemy forces. Controlling a large number of drones flying at different elevations and speeds in same or multiple directions with hassle-free operation is a tricky affair which cannot be controlled by few individual pilots like the large-scale drones including Predator and Global Hawk. This job can be managed through incorporation of AI trained models for swarm flight controls, formations for attack, surveillance and reconnaissance, weapons control, obstacle clearance and swarm defence; to name a few.

Swarming Boat Threats. The future trends in naval warfare are the swarm of boats attacking at one fleet from multiple directions [10]. Owing to too many targets of small scale attack boats to be handled by the fleet, the lethality of threat is increased by numerous times. With AI trained for the task of engaging multiple threats of such sort, aided with a combination of heterogeneous, robot operated, Gentling/ Phalanx CIWC or some other guns, such threats can quickly be eliminated [11] as the decision to engage target based on distance, speed and severity of threat will be quicker and automatic, thereby eliminating such targets with most suitable weapons in lesser time which is the most critical requirement in such time-scarce scenario.

Artificial Super-Intelligence (ASI). The computers have started dominating over the human jobs in the different fields of life. After a certain time period the computer intelligence will surpass the limits of human intelligence [12] thus



gaining a significant advantage over humans. Such Artificial Super Intelligence will redefine and reshape everything in war and peace. The decades henceforth are crucial in this regard as the developments in technology will increase exponentially in all fields of life including the battlefield. Humans, now commanders of non-intelligent machines use them wisely as aids to humans for multiple purposes and try to save these machines being precious and vital for defence of the country. A day will come when the machines will be artificially super intelligent and then humans will be the precious entity which may be under the command of the ASI based fighting machines.

Recommendations

Technologies including AI, drone warfare, big data, quantum computing, nanotechnology and hypersonic weaponry needs research. Research in such military products will pay dividends for the Country's economy as well as for military. Research center for evolution of such technologies may be established at NUST and other top-notch public and private universities.

Need of the hour is to use cheaper defence solutions in lieu of costly ones after thorough SWOT analysis. For instance, wherever feasible, fighter and aircrafts may be replaced with intelligent armed drones.

Since AI enabled technologies and robotics can save human lives, so such areas need to be identified where humans can be replaced not only removing human limitations and save human lives but also to enhance performance.

A day will come when the machines will be artificially super intelligent and then humans will be the precious entity which may be under the command of the ASI based fighting machines

All borders as well as the sea bounds may be put under surveillance by use of intelligent drones and other AI enabled automated weapons.

Underwater drones are not so common in defence area. Such drones may be incorporated to detect, track and even inflict losses to the enemy approaching own boundaries.

Joint ventures with allied countries including Gulf countries may be done in production of weapons and equipment which will be very beneficial for Pakistan by sharing costs and will also yield state-of-the-art weapons and equipment.

Private firms may be promoted to develop defence products specially based on AI and other state-of-the-art technologies to bring innovation and earn dividends through collaboration. Lockheed Martin, Raytheon and Northrop Grumman, being private firms are the best examples of private defence production serving the customers around the world and earning huge dividends for USA. This will also fulfill domestic needs of our military by their reliable products at affordable prices.

Since India has planned to incorporate latest technologies including AI in the military so she will have significant advantages in the



Iran claims a known GPS Hack brought down a US Sentinel Spy Plane



battlefield. Apropos, areas of implementation of AI and other technologies of future warfare need to be identified in our current military setup to exploit the full potential of these technologies and counter the imminent future threats planned by the adversaries using same technologies.

While current scope of our C⁴I Directorate is too restricted to serve the purpose of future warfare, there is a dire need to establish a joint “Cyber Warfare Division” within current C⁴I infrastructure not only to prepare and withstand against the odds of cyber-attacks but also poise itself to launch counter-cyber offensive operations in readily assessed weak areas of the enemies after thorough studies, intelligence gathering and analysis.

Human and industrial resource development in AI is need of the hour to gear up in the race of technology before getting too late. Such resources can be multiplied by a fission chain, spreading the knowledge across the nation through various national and military platforms.

An Artificial Neural Network can integrate different elements and networks including Army Net at intra service, inter services, National and Allied Grid as backbone network connecting different battlefield systems for collaboration

Military software houses should adopt AI and adapt to their development skills accordingly. Software houses of armed forces can collaborate in this regard or can even launch joint ventures. The other allied software houses including NASCOM, can also join for their share in the progress. This collaboration may lead to a powerful organization which can bring new products in the military and can also export their products to defence forces of other countries.

ISPR may use the AI based tools to analyze the trends of society and the media to protect the minds of innocent masses from hijacking by foreign media and safeguard the national narrative, national integrity and bring harmony.

An Artificial Neural Network can integrate different elements and networks including Army Net at intra service, inter services, National and

Human and industrial resource development in AI is need of the hour to gear up in the race of technology before getting too late

India has planned to incorporate latest technologies including AI in the military so she will have significant advantages in the battlefield

Allied Grid as backbone network connecting different battlefield systems for collaboration.

A central repository of information at Army level or joint level may be established aided by a search engine to facilitate personnel about different resources including study materials, weaponry and equipment details of own and the enemy and other resources of importance.

Awareness at all ranks is need of the hour as we are partially aware with latest technological advancements. Development of commercial AI based systems and software solutions can be very fruitful in the IT industry. Dividends can be achieved through promotion of AI development culture in all the IT areas while will help in empowering life of people and the economic status of the country.

AI may be incorporated in audio/ visual pattern recognition for intelligence collection and analysis. This will not only enhance the intelligence analysis capabilities but will also zero the slippage chances of human errors in this process.

Conclusion

It is not merely the fight between forces now but the race of technologies and intelligent systems. AI can prove to be a force multiplier when used in a combination with any technology, thus creating a dilemma amongst the echelons of the enemy. Since all of the advantages of AI are still being ascertained, apropos, there is a need to harness this giant not only for the benefit of armed forces but also for national progress and prosperity.

Bibliography

1. "28 Best Quotes about Artificial Intelligence". 2019. Forbes.Com. Accessed June 24 2019. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bernardmarr/2017/07/25/28-best-quotes-about-artificial-intelligence/>.
2. "Travelling Salesman Problem". 2019. En.Wikipedia.Org. Accessed June 11 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Travelling_salesman_problem.
3. Phillips-Wren, Gloria. (2012). Ai Tools in Decision Making Support Systems: a Review. International Journal on Artificial Intelligence Tools. 21. 10.1142/S0218213012400052.
4. Rigano, Christopher. "Using Artificial Intelligence to Address Criminal Justice Needs," NIJ Journal 280, January 2019, <https://www.nij.gov/journals/280/Pages/using-artificialintelligence-to-address-criminal-justice-needs.aspx>.
5. Cummings, Mary 'Missy' L. "Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Warfare," International Security Department and US and the Americas Programme, Jan 2017: 18.
6. Akilan, Kumaran. "Artificially Intelligent Engineers — How AI Will Kill All Engineering Jobs.". 2017. Medium. Accessed July 21 2019. <https://medium.com/archieai/artificially-intelligent-engineers-how-ai-will-kill-all-engineering-jobs-3fd6dac55a06>.
7. Hussain, Yasir. 2019. "Indian's Pakistan-Specific Land Warfare Doctrine:



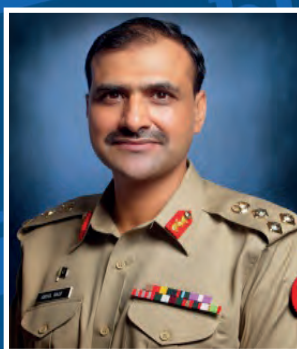
Some people call this AI, but the reality is this technology will enhance us. So instead of AI, I think we'll augment our intelligence

(Ginni Rometty)

- An Overview". 2019. Southasianvoices.Org. Accessed July 13 2019. <https://southasianvoices.org/indias-pakistan-specific-land-warfare-dctrine-an-overview/>.
8. Campbell, Zach. 2019. "Swarms Of Drones, Piloted By Artificial Intelligence, May Soon Patrol European Borders". The Intercept, Accessed July 23 2019. <https://theintercept.com/2019/05/11/drones-artificial-intelligence-europe-rob-order/>.
 9. Agency, Defense, and Work Us. 2019. "Offensive Swarm-Enabled Tactics (OFFSET)". Darpa.Mil. Accessed June 11 2019. <https://www.darpa.mil/work-with-us/offensive-swarm-enabled-tactics>.
 10. "Navy Could Use AI to Combat Swarms Of Enemy Boats". 2019. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. Accessed June 14 2019. <https://www.defense.gov/explore/story/Article/1825907/navy-could-use-ai-to-combat-swarms-of-enemy-boats/>.
 11. Laird, Christopher L. 2016. "Heterogeneous Defensive Naval Weapon Assignment To Swarming Threats In Real-Time". Calhoun.Nps.Edu. Accessed June 14 2019. <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/48544>.
 12. "What Is Artificial Superintelligence (ASI)? - Definition FromTechopedia". 2019. Techopedia.Com. Accessed June 30 2019. <https://www.techopedia.com/definition/31619/artificial-superintelligence-asi>.



IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON NATIONAL SECURITY



Brigadier Dr Abdul Rauf



Lieutenant Colonel
Muhammad Sharjeel Zareen

Abstract

IT revolution took place about 40 years back, but in recent years social media has added another dimension to it. Slowly and gradually the IT advancements like hyper-connectivity, big data analytics, mobile applications, cloud computing and machine learning etc have joined hands to make social media, an extremely powerful tool. This has become more influential than governments and militaries. Some of the recent incidents like Arab Spring of 2010, Indian Elections of 2014, BREXIT Referendum and US Elections of 2016 have shown the might and somewhat true potential of social media. The effects are wide ranging on almost every aspect of modern day society – National Security is no exception. Strategic decision makers need to have a thorough understanding of these effects on National Security. This paper, after having taken a bird-eye view of social media progression, highlights the covert uses of social media, presents some case studies and proffers some pertinent recommendations.

Keywords: Social Media, Pakistan's Cyberspace, National Security, Cyber Security, Social Media Intelligence (SOCMINT)



Till few years back, it would have been difficult to conceive an intelligence agency with billions of unpaid agents working voluntarily across the globe. This workforce is providing real-time information in the form of comments, news feed, photos, videos etc from all over the world. This information is revealing feelings, likes, dislikes, activities, emotions, psychological and religious trends, not only about them but about their families, friends and entire surroundings. This is what the social media is doing and most of us either do not know about it or at least not knowing the real powers of social media and how these powers are being exploited by people with control over social media platforms.

Social media has given a new dimension to propaganda warfare, an essential segment of hybrid warfare, actively used by our enemies in 'fifth generation warfare'.¹ In physical domain, enemies are involved in actions for few hours or few days, but on social media they are continuously involved in psychological war. Propaganda, hate speech, fake news, misinformation, fake photos, fake videos, rumors, fanning the flames of hatred during protests and riots are few things which our enemies are continuously doing.

We lack basic understanding of working of social media and how its inherent vulnerabilities can be exploited by hostile states and non-state actors. Social media has access to masses and is capable of spreading high volume of information

Categories of Social Media Sites^{4 & 5}

Communication	Blogging	Blogger, Livejournal, Type pad, Word press
	Microblogging	Twitter, Yammer, Goggle Buzz
	Location	Foursquare, Gowalla, Facebook Places
	Social Networking	Facebook, LinkedIn, MySpace
	Aggregation	Google, Reddar, Netvibes, Page flakes, iGoggle
Collaboration	Conferencing	Adobe Connect, GoTomeeting, Skype
	Wikis	PBworks, Wetpaint, Wikia
	Social Bookmarking	Delicious, Diigo, BibSonomy
	Social Bibliography	CiteULike, Mendeley
	Social News	Digg, Reddit, Newsvine
	Project Management	Bamboo, Basecamp, Huddle
Multimedia	Photographs	Flickr, Picasa, SmugMug,
	Video	Viddler, Vimeo, YouTube
	Live Streaming	Justin.tv, Livestream, Ustream
	Presentation Sharing	Scribd, Slideshare, Sliderocket
	Virtual Works	OpenSim, Second life, World of Warcraft



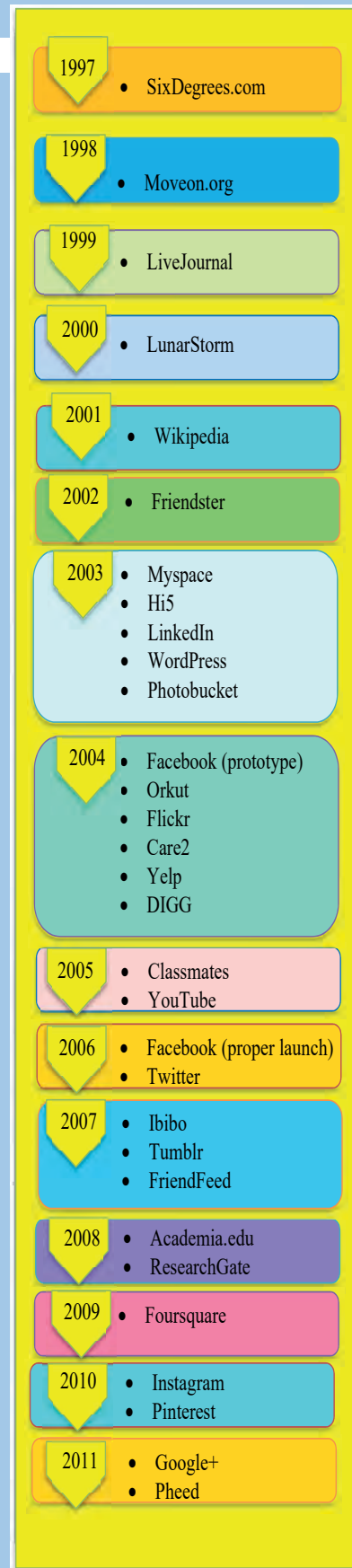
Explosive growth in use of social media has led to emergence of new venue of intelligence and surveillance known as Social Media Intelligence (SOCMINT)

at high velocity. Social media, internet and other cyber elements have brought new dimensions to our traditional understanding of national security. Explosive growth in use of social media has led to emergence of a new venue of intelligence and surveillance known as Social Media Intelligence (SOCMINT); various data analytical tools are being developing to assist SOCMINT.

In classic sense, social media are different websites and applications to broadcast information, whereas social networks are groups of computing devices connected together with the purpose of two-way communication to interact. Social media is just talking, whereas social networks deal with talking and listening. However, with passage of time and latest developments in social media platforms, boundaries have gone blur and the two terms are being used interchangeably. Social media uses websites, applications and other platforms to help social interaction between large groups of likeminded people. It allows users to interactively communicate and share ideas, thoughts, information, experiences, posts, profiles, news, status, updates, contents, interests, activities, photos, videos, etc., with other users.







Social media participation is growing rapidly because of the increased use of smart phones, high-speed mobile internet, improvement in software tools and availability of all of these at affordable prices. Interest of young people and businesses also helped in fast growth of social media. Popularity of social media can be guessed from facts like there are around 112.3 million blogs, 100 million of videos viewed daily and 60 million active social network site users.² The amount of time spent online is growing by about 7% each year, the most potential harmful content children said they saw online was on Facebook (24%), followed by Instagram (12%) and Snapchat (8%) and Spam emails were the most prolific harmful content cited by adults (34%) followed by fake news (25%) and scams (22%).³

Popularity of social media can be guessed from facts like there are around 112.3 million blogs, 100 million of videos viewed daily and 60 million active social network site users





Comparison of Famous Social Media^{6,7, 8, 9 & 10}

	Description	Interaction	Value
 Facebook (since 2004)	A Social media platform aimed at connecting friends, families and communities and allow people to share what they're most interested in 2 41 Billion (second quarter 2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Text, Photo, & Video ✓ Articles /Links ✓ Groups (discussion) ✓ Pages (outward facing profiles) ✓ Live sessions ✓ Stories ✓ Notes (Long –form texts) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Real people (authentic profile) ✓ World's largest platform ✓ Community focused
 Youtube (since 2005)	A video sharing platform that allows people to create, share, and discover original video content 1 Billion+ user	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Video ✓ Live sessions ✓ Comments / Live commentary ✓ Channels (outward facing profiles) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Incredible video distribution channel for small & larger creators alike
 Reddit (since 2005)	A social news aggregation site which rates content based on user votes, serves as a platform for online discussion 330 Million+ Users (80% fall under ages 18-35 years)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Teac, Photo, Video ✓ Articles/Links ✓ Sub-Reddits (subject specific communities/forum) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Reddit is at the forefront of trending online content ✓ Highly rated content quickly spreads to other sites and platforms ✓ Community / meme
 Twitter (since 2006)	A real-time sharing platform designed to connect people around things happening in the world 317 Million+ Users (even distribution across age groups)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Text, Photo, & video ✓ Articles/ Links ✓ Live session (Periscope), Broadcasts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Following /retweeting users does not have to mean support, but rather interest and general relevance ✓ Organic reach via open-discussion ✓ "In the moment" Live
 Instagram (since 2010)	A photo & video sharing app focused on allowing people to share and connect over their passions 800 Million + users (majority falls under ages 18-29 years)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Photo & Video ✓ Stories ✓ IGTV (Long-form videos) ✓ Live sessions ✓ Filters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Great visual story telling ✓ Sharing and finding things people are passionate about
 Snapchat (since 2011)	A messaging app that allows users to create and send short-lived messages to a specific user 300 Million+ users (60% fall under ages 13-24 years)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Short-lived photo & video ✓ Filters ✓ Stories ✓ Subscriptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Organic, short lived, and "in the moment"

Financial Model of Social Media

Social media platforms have their own business model and are earning billions of dollars. Users from almost every country are also contributing to their income and tax collection.

Advertising. Most of the social media service providers offer advertising options. Option of targeted ad is also offered but the charges are more.

Social Advertising Pages. Social media service providers also offer creation of social advertising pages.

If something appears to be free, then you are not the customer but a product



Sales of Products / Services. Social media service providers also offer corporate solutions including video conferencing and customized messaging services; some also offer marketing services for businesses.

Subscription Services. Some social media offer subscription-based services and memberships.

Selling / Sharing of User Data. Social media platforms also sell data of its customers to various organizations ranging from consulting firms like Cambridge Analytica, to intelligence agencies like CIA. IQT (In Q Tel) is an investment company which provides funding to various IT companies on behalf of CIA and gets the desired intelligence from them.¹¹ Social media data is collected and monetized by the service providers unless users specifically opt out, which isn't always possible. Almost all types of social media sell information of their users to all types of interested parties, ranging from simple companies looking for targeted/ well-tailored advertisements of their products to social media users, to intelligence agencies looking to gather information/ SOCMINT.

Surveillance companies have been actually renamed as social media who are collecting user information and doing surveillance of entire world through social media

Facebook appears to be free, if something appears to be free that means you are not the customer but a product. The revenue of Facebook is continuously increasing; they earned more than 16 billion USD in just 4th quarter of 2018.

NSA whistle-blower Edward Snowden tweeted in March 2018 that Facebook is a surveillance company that sells its users' personal data. He is of the opinion that surveillance companies have been actually renamed as social media, who are collecting user information and doing surveillance of entire world. This supports the assertion that

social media platforms might have actually been launched by US surveillance agencies to collect user data in a convenient way.

Being a Facebook customer, one is subjected to US policy and laws instead of the policies and laws of the native country from where the person belongs or actually lives. Certain EU countries are now asking Facebook to keep their user data within their countries instead of US or elsewhere, so that local laws could be applied in case of any controversy. Facebook was fined £500,000 by the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) in the UK; interestingly that amount Facebook was collecting in revenue every five and a half minutes in the first quarter of 2018. Facebook is also facing a number of lawsuits in EU under General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), a regulation in EU law on data protection and privacy which was implemented on 25 May 2018.

Social Media Benefits

- Sharing (upload/download) useful information.
- Getting opinion on different subjects.
- Entertainment (sharing funny videos / photos, friendship, relationships, eradicating loneliness and depression, chatting, commenting).
- Socializing (meeting people online, sharing common interests).
- Discussion forums (on common topics).
- Sharing experiences and expertise (to give or take advice).
- Academic purposes (universities / colleges / schools use it for announcements / news, students also get advice or discuss various issues, academic problems with other students and teachers, establishing virtual class rooms etc).
- Communicating with family and friends.
- Playing online games.
- Keeping oneself up-to-date.
- Establishing professional networks (discussions, collaboration and sharing professional advancements).
- Marketing and advertisements (promoting business, launch of new products).

Covert Uses - SOCMINT

SOCMINT is a new, complex and interdisciplinary concept used for gathering of real-time information from social media. It is the process of identification, validation, collection and analyzing data and information from social media using intrusive and non-intrusive methods,



with the aim of developing products for national security. Publicly available information is just the tip of the iceberg. There is much more information which can be made available through appropriate authorizations by the owners of social media platforms, for which they charge a handsome fee. However, in case of foreign social media platforms, such authorizations and access are also dependent upon the relations / agreements existing between both the countries. SOCMINT is being used for following purposes:-

- Generation of users' profile and future predictions.
- Allows state agencies to keep a complete record of online activities of the users.
- Being used by states, governments, intelligence agencies and law enforcement agencies to collect information on targets of tactical, operational and strategic interest.
- It can also be used to find damage-assessment and post-operation effects of kinetic operations.
- For espionage; social media profiles are being monitored by hostile agencies to find



potential candidates with desired personal, ideological and financial traits to be exploited. These people are identified, targeted and subsequently recruited for spying.

- SOCMINT is also a very important segment of open source intelligence (OSINT) as terrorists, extremists, separatists and other criminals are actively using social media.

Extraction of a large amount of data from social media may turn to be a serious challenge if the right analytical tools are not used. This high volume of data thus necessitates the use of modern sophisticated technologies in the field of Artificial Intelligence (AI), Data Mining and Big Data analytics for analysis and prediction.

THE WAR ON FAKE NEWS



US has full access to international communication including Internet through a number of global surveillance alliances with US in lead role, thus acting as one global entity. Significant of these alliances include, 'Five Eyes', 'Nine Eyes', and '14 Eyes'.

The recent US sanctions against Chinese telecommunication company 'Huawei' and US pressuring other western countries not to proceed further even for the contracts already signed like deployment of 5G in UK and Australia, could be linked to the company's unwillingness to give access to 'Five Eyes' surveillance alliance.⁸

Realizing the power of social media and the rich information that can be extracted about an individual from his / her social media accounts, US State Department is now asking visa applicants to give details of their social media usernames and email addresses used in the last five years.

Social Media is also an effective tool being used for opinion building. Due to its open nature,



this is equally being exploited by governments as well as hostile agencies to control the minds of general populace.

Fake accounts can be made on social media to spread propaganda and fake news. Facebook says



it removed 3.39 billion fake accounts from October 2018 to March 2019, twice the number of fraudulent accounts deleted in the previous six months period. The fake accounts are roughly a billion more than the 2.4 billion actual people on Facebook worldwide, according to the company's own count.

AI tools can be used to generate sounds, images and videos which are indistinguishable from real ones. Certain AI tools are being developed to clone hand written texts of individuals which could be really dangerous.

Criminal Use of Social Media

Terrorist organizations are using social media for propaganda, propagation of extremist ideologies, exploiting social and religious fault lines for achieving their hidden motives, communication, fund raising, operational coordination and recruitment.



As per Symantec Corporation, criminals are focusing more on social media. It is a heaven for crimes of frauds, theft, extortion, harassment, cyber bullying and money laundering. Frauds are being committed using spams (unsolicited messages / advertisement) exploiting human greed or inexperience in computer technology, leading to spread of malwares targeting at identity theft or worst. Theft includes stealing information related to credit cards, proprietary secrets, trade secrets and personal information.

Arab Spring (2010)

Arab Spring brought changes in Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA) region at such a fast pace and magnitude that overthrew the old-guard regimes and enforced political concessions. Prior to Arab Spring, social media was regarded as time pass activity of young generation. However, social media emerged as a key player in narrative building and exploitation in any social movement.



Jasmine movement in Tunisia is known as ground zero of Arab Spring. Self-emolition of Mohamed Bouazizi on 17 December 2010, in retaliation to harassment and suppression by government officials, triggered a chain reaction of protests mainly amongst the unemployed youth and suppressed middle class. These protests quickly spread through social media, on which President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali had no control. Such was the pace of spread of Jasmine movement that on 14 January 2011, autocratic regime of President Ben Ali came to an end, after remaining in power for 23 years.

Change of government fueled the already ongoing pro-democratic movement in Egypt, against the autocratic government of Hosni Mubarak. Muslim Brotherhood with assistance of social media, brought all pro-democratic fractions together and institutionalized the movement. Civil

war erupted in the country and ultimately President Hosni Mubarak stepped down on 11 February 2011, after remaining in power for 30 years.

Arab Spring also reached Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). However, in KSA the physical component of Arab Spring was missing, and it only remained in cyber space. Moreover, Saudi regime instead of suppressing the movement, released two economic packages amounting to US\$36 Billion and US\$ 100 Billion to make the citizens comfortable.

London Riots (2011)

A series of riots erupted in various cities and towns of England between 6 to 11 August 2011. Thousands of people participated in said riots; looting and arson of massive scale was reported. Riots were instigated by shooting of Mark Duggan by police in Tottenham, London. Police failed to satisfy the family and friends of deceased Mark Duggan about legality of their extreme action. A peaceful protest by his family and close friends was organized on 6 August 2011 to demand justice for the deceased. However, police failed to handle the matter amicably. Thereafter, a fake news of injury

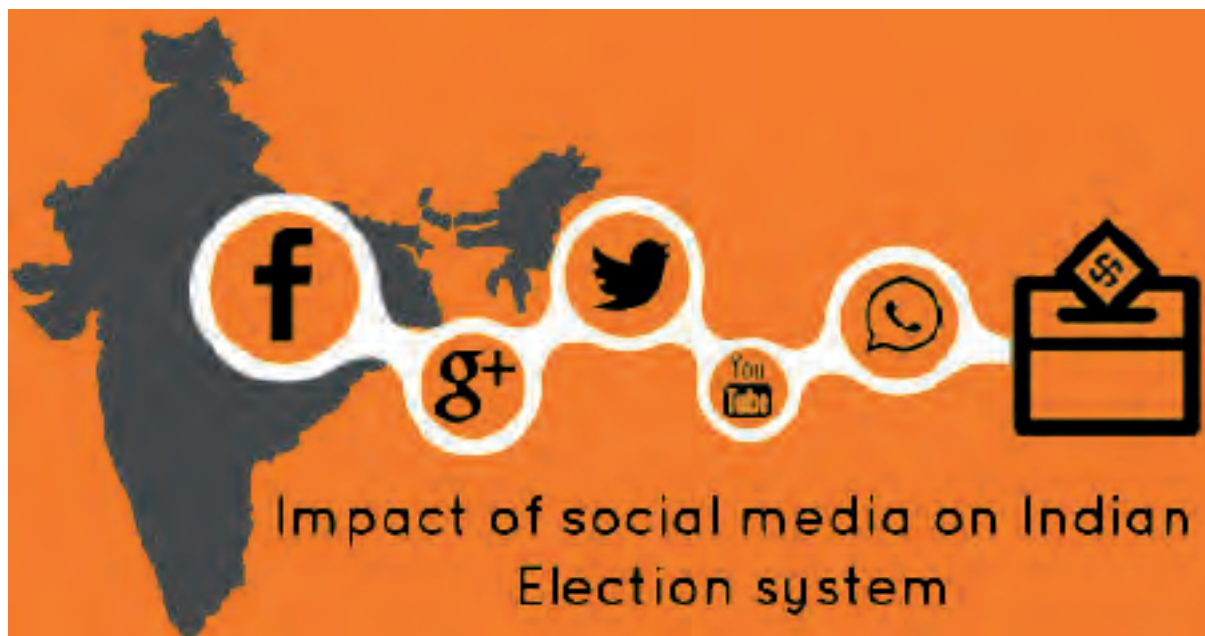
Indian Elections (2014)

Mr Narendra Modi's victory in Indian elections leading to his premiership, where his party, BJP, secured 282 out of 543 seats, is attributed to the change in the political alignment of voters from left to far right, due to Modi's social media effects on masses and other media in India.

More than 40 million was invested by BJP on advertising on Facebook. Hate speeches, propaganda and fake news similar to the one used by erstwhile Nazi Germany, played a vital role in Indian elections. Clause of Model Code of Conduct (MCC) of Indian Election Commission to ensure fair and free election was bypassed by BJP, as social media is not covered under the clause. Hate speeches led to communal violence and mob lynching of minorities, which eventually helped BJP in winning the elections using Hindu supremacy card.

US Presidential Elections (2016)

During US Elections data of about eighty seven million users was sold by Facebook to Cambridge Analytica through an application. Cambridge



of a 16 year old girl during the protest circulated on social media and things went out of control, resulting into a chain reaction which spread the riots throughout England. Various fake news and rumors spread on social media thereafter, further ignited the already existing racial tension, class discrimination, economic crunch and unemployment. Social media was actively used for coordination of riots and loot activities. London riots showed that governments have inadequate comprehension of the influence social media can have.

Analytica influenced the US voters by developing a 'psychological warfare tool' which helped Donald Trump to win the 2016 US Presidential Elections.¹² Facebook CEO, Mark Zuckerberg testified before US Congress for five hours in this case. Facebook was found guilty as they were unable to protect the data of their users and allowed an application on Facebook platform which collected user's data. This application not only collected users' information from Facebook data and activities, but also collected users' data browsing other websites.



Brexit Referendum (2016)

In the month preceding the Brexit Referendum, various trends on social media influenced the outcome of the referendum. These trends were analyzed in detail after the referendum by various research organizations and various interesting inferences were drawn. Brexit supporters not only were more motivated and emotional, but they were also using social media more effectively. Instagram statistics showed that Brexit supporters were not only twice in number as compare to Remain activists, but five times more active than the others. People supporting EU ignored the trends on social media being a toy of young generation, having no connection with real world politics, and left posting on social media; consequently Brexit supporters won.

Kidnapping of Lieutenant Colonel Habib Zahir (Retired)

The officer made his profile on social media (LinkedIn) and shared his CV on Slide Share containing information related to his previous official employments. Hostile intelligence agency was looking for some target for abduction using personal information on social media, in order to divert the attention of international community from the capture of his serving officer from Pakistan, which was involved in anti-state activities. Said officer appeared as a lucrative target. Hostile agency created a fake website to entrap the officer into a job. He was lured in by offering a lucrative job in Nepal, from where he was kidnapped in April 2017.

Cyber Sovereignty

To have an effective and efficient internet management we must first fully understand the present working model of internet. Routing of internet traffic does not follow 'physically shortest path' but always goes through the 'cheapest path', which as per internet design, is mostly through US. This provides an opportunity for US intelligence agencies to have an effective surveillance mechanism over the internet. Mostly companies providing internet services are US based with their servers, data and information stored within

Chinese have realized the vulnerabilities of foreign social media platforms and have developed their own indigenous social media platforms which are available globally and providing the same services

US territory. These companies are providing full access to US intelligence and surveillance agencies to their core servers, where internet traffic using standard encryption is also available in clear.¹³

There are reports about installing backdoors in routers and other C&IT equipment exported worldwide by US manufacturers. It is rightly said that 'surveillance is the business model of the internet'. This situation demands that every country must effectively safeguard their cyberspace and Internet data.

There is a new concept of internet sovereignty or cyber sovereignty where governments are trying to align cyberspace with their national geographical borders. The motivation for such initiative is simply to protect the national cyber space and safeguarding cyber boundaries just like physical boundaries. If countries do not allow physical intrusion or any criminal entering into their area how they can allow any cybercriminal to enter into their cyberspace. Moreover, internet services hosted in another country could be denied at the time of need. Global internet connectivity is available through submarine cables which could be cut by hostile forces, leading to denial of internet and associated services. Thus to have guaranteed internet services, local internet services hosted within a country are essential. China, Russia, Australia, UK and some other EU countries are also actively pursuing to develop such internet infrastructure which can work independent of the global internet connectivity, if the need arises.

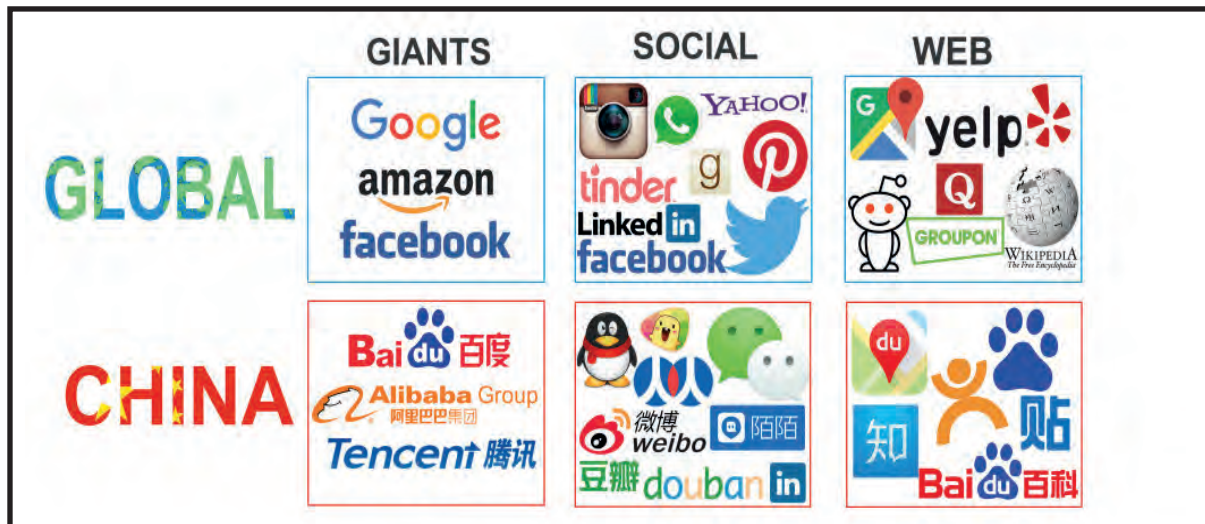
China – A Cyber Security Model

Foreign social media including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram or WhatsApp, are not available in China, yet the country has the most active environment for social media. Chinese have realized the vulnerabilities of foreign social media platforms and have developed their own indigenous social media platforms which are available globally and providing the same services as any other social media platforms are providing elsewhere in the world.

China is the world's second biggest economy with the largest number of internet users (more than 800 million with 57.7% penetration), which is more than double than that of US.

Chinese have developed WeChat, which is a versatile social media application providing a















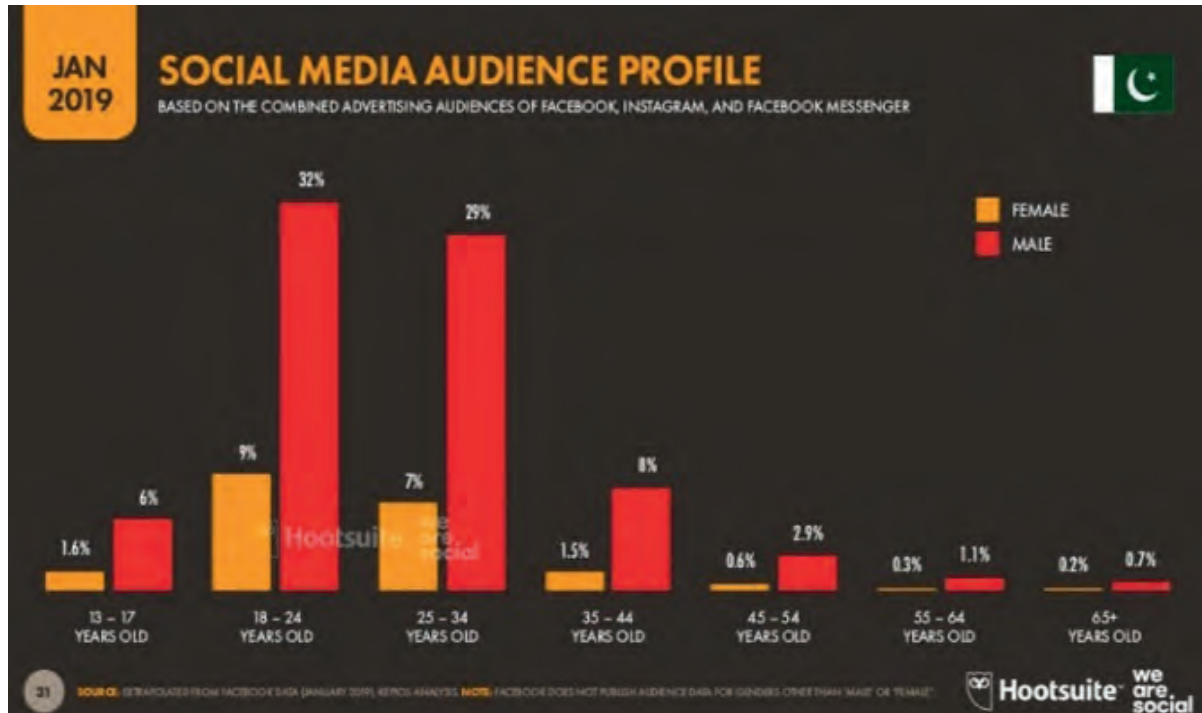
combination of services as available in Facebook, Instagram, Skype, Uber, Amazon, and WhatsApp, with more than 1.08 billion active users as in August 2018. Tencent QQ (instant messaging app providing gaming, music, movies, blogging, and group chat services, with more than 803.2 million active users as in August 2018, which can be accessed from anywhere in the world, thus Chinese users are using these services globally.

By using Chinese social media platforms not only the data of Chinese users is staying within China and not going into the hands of outside

world, but at the same time Chinese users are contributing to Chinese domestic economy instead of US.¹⁴ Their domestic social media platforms are fulfilling their requirements in a much better way as these custom-built platforms are designed, modified and upgraded, keeping in view the customs, culture and needs of Chinese people where local policies could be easily implemented.¹⁵

China has deployed a very effective and efficient system of internet management and social media services to make their cyberspace secure and to keep financial and other benefits from

Chinese Social Media Platforms	Services offered and Equivalent US Platform	No of Monthly Active Users
WeChat 	All-in-one social media platform in China – Providing a mix of Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram, and Skype, also providing games, online shopping, and financial services	1.08 billion
Sina Weibo 	Twitter of China	446 million
Tencent QQ 	Instant Messaging app	803.2 million
Toudou Youku 	YouTube of China	580 million (registered users)
Baidu Tieba 	A search engine forum	665 million
Douban 	Lifestyle discussion platform	300 million
Zhihu 	The Quora of China – Question-and-Answer website	160 million (registered users)
Meituan – Dianping 	The Chinese versions of Yelp – Restaurant reviews and ordering	382.3 million (registered users)
Momo 	Tinder of China – Location base social search	108 million
Meitu 	Photo editing and sharing	445 million



internet use within their own economy. Internet management has not restricted the growth of internet in China in anyway, rather it has helped the domestic companies to grow by developing and using their own services over the internet. This has also provided an opportunity for Chinese IT companies to grow at much higher pace as a large domestic market is available to them without any international competitor. Chinese companies, Alibaba and Tencent are among the top ten most-valued public tech companies in the world, and Meituan Dianping, Baidu, JD.com, NetEase, and Xiaomi are in the top thirty.

Social Media Statistics - Pakistan

Pakistan has a considerably large numbers of users on various social media applications. 18 % of our population (37 million) is active member of social media with around 18 % using it through mobile phones (36 million). Most popular social media in Pakistan is Facebook, with a user base of 36 million, with majority having age from 18-

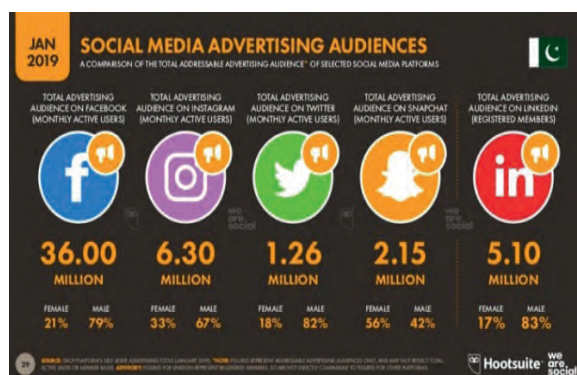
24 years. Instagram is second most popular social media with a user base of 6.3 million. Generally, social media is more popular amongst males as compared to females.

As per 2018 report published by International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Pakistan is ranked 94th out of 155, in Global Cybersecurity Index (GCI). This is significantly lower in the region; India (47), Iran (60), Bangladesh (78) and Sri Lanka (84).¹⁶ According to a study conducted by Comparitech, Pakistan was ranked 7th in terms of the countries with the worst cybersecurity.¹⁷ Bad state of affairs is mainly because of missing policies, regulations, laws, institutions (organizational, legal, technical), research / education / training and cooperation (national / regional / global).¹⁸

Our law enforcement agencies have limited understanding, resources and capabilities to fight cybercrimes, monitor social media and limited access to management of social media.¹⁹ Then, the magnitude of cybercrimes – due to sheer size of market – is so huge as compared to limited quantitative number of NR3C that majority of cybercrime cases go unheard.^{20, 21}

Potential Social Media Threats to National Security

Social media is a very powerful tool for reaching to masses for various good and bad motives such as opinion building, propaganda, awareness, cybercrimes etc. If exploited by the enemies of state, social media has the potential to become a threat to national security, in following ways:-





- Close monitoring of sentiments and emotions of general public, especially towards matters of national and international significance.
- Exploitation of sentiments of general public by feeding them engineered information, in order to achieve hidden motives.
- Keep record of online activities of high-ranking officials, occupying important posts and exploiting their vulnerabilities / weak moments.
- Molding the opinions of high-ranking officials in a covert way, in order to affect their decision making process.
- Important tool of espionage, through which information is extracted from targeted individual, without his knowledge.
- Recruitment of spies after identifying the personal, ideological and financial inclinations / traits of potential candidates and communicating with them, in a secure manner, without being detected by law enforcement and intelligence agencies.
- Coordination of terrorism and anti-state activities, in a secure manner, without being detected by law enforcement and intelligence agencies.
- Interference in various activities of national significance, like elections, referendums etc by hostile agencies / countries: opinion building of masses through social media as well as hacking through malwares.
- Exploitation of religious and ethnic fault lines of our society in the garb of freedom of speech by anti-state elements and hostile agencies, to threaten the national integrity and unity.

Way Forward

All well-known organizations have very rightly made policies for their employees on their code of conduct on social media, even privately, as this may seriously affect the reputation of the organization. In June 2019 a Bank Alfalah employee was fired for using abusive language on his

personal Twitter account. Security organizations have more strict rules on the subject as their employees have access to sensitive information which must not be exposed in any way. In addition to personal and organizational reputation, sharing such information may impede future operations or put life of their colleagues at risk. Hostile enemy agencies may be collecting open source intelligence through social media intelligence or may even be honey trapping the individuals.²²

Formulation of Cyber Laws and Regulations

As per ITU Cyber wellness report for Pakistan, the situation is not very encouraging and needs significant improvement. There is no national cybersecurity policy or national cybersecurity framework for implementing internationally recognized cybersecurity standards. There is no apparent roadmap for cybersecurity governance, no national agency for cybersecurity, no agency or framework for certification and accreditation of cybersecurity agencies and professionals, no national CERT (Computer Emergency Response Team), no standardization program, no framework for cooperation etc. The only significant step in this area is Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) which was approved in 2016, but it is also under many controversies on account of freedom of expression and cybersecurity, the real issue has moved to the background.

The situation is very alarming as there is a need to have an effective strategy and policy at the national level.²³ All regulations, laws, will be derived from the national policy which is presently missing. Following initiatives are need of the hour:-

- Formulation of National Cybersecurity Policy.
- Legislation similar to EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).
- Establishment of National Cybersecurity Authority having comprehensive technical infrastructure.
- Formulation of cyber laws on safe and secure use of cyberspace including social media.

Enabling Law Enforcement Agencies

Our law enforcement agency tasked to deal with cybercrimes doesn't have the numbers, the resources or the tools required to deal with these. Worst of all, they need to rely on international organizations – such as Facebook, Google, Twitter etc. to solve cases with little support in place.

We need to equip and upgrade our law enforcement agencies to deal with the complex nature of cybercrimes committed on cyber space and social media. Ministry of Interior, in



coordination with Ministry of IT&T has to play a major role in this regard. A special cyber wing needs to be raised in all provincial police departments, which should be given legal cover by introducing appropriate clauses in the law.

Improvement in General Awareness

National narrative needs to reach individuals in an effective way for which social media can play a vital role. Social media can be used to counter enemy propaganda, if taken as an element of national security and hence, needs institutionalization and deliberate handling at the national level like other domains.

In online population of almost 50 million, the majority is not academically and technically sound. Hence, they become easy targets for fraudsters, scammers, harassers and organized cyber criminals. There is a need to improve the general awareness of citizens about overt and covert uses of social media.

Steps to De-radicalize the Society

Social media enables people to develop associations with extremists and terrorist groups. Some websites in Pakistan inject extremism and there's no reason why we should not counter this negative narrative through the same means by promoting de-radicalization. In other words, social media can be effectively used for peace.

Establishment of Sovereign Internet

Most of internet and social media service

Most of internet and social media service providing companies are US based, thus provided full access to US intelligence agencies to data of our citizens for all sorts of purposes

providing companies are US based, thus provide full access to US intelligence agencies to data of our citizens for all sorts of purposes. Moreover, in international politics things may change and there is even a possibility for any country to be under international sanctions. The availability of internet and other associated services in this scenario may not be guaranteed, unless we have a 'Sovereign Internet'.

At the moment we are far from this and any click on any internet site including government and other sensitive sites actually goes through US. We should aim at an internet model which must work in the country meeting our domestic needs, safeguarding data of our citizens and ensuring availability even if the international connectivity does not exist for any reason. Achieving 'Cyber Sovereignty' is essentially required for our national security. China's model can be studied in detail and may be employed in Pakistan to address the privacy and security concerns.

Indigenous Social Media Applications

There is a dire need to develop indigenous social media applications, as being done in China and other countries²⁴. Our own indigenously developed domestic social media platforms will give full access to own intelligence agencies to counter their misuse for propaganda purposes, opinion building, terrorism and other anti-state activities. Human rights, freedom of expression, data protection, privacy and confidentiality will have to be taken care of by our own agencies monitoring social media. This has to be done with responsibility, with minimum errors, without any possible misuse and within the given legal framework. The actions of agencies need to be justified and there has to be a legitimate body that shall authorize and validate such actions linked to gathering, processing and use of SOCMINT.

e-Diplomacy

Diplomats can do public diplomacy more effectively using social media, where the traditional objectives can be achieved more efficiently. Public diplomacy using social media can be used to shape global public opinion in favour of our country. It can play an effective role to counter coercive diplomacy, which is currently a big challenge. Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to train own diplomats to exploit the uses of social media to achieve our national objectives.





Conclusion

We must understand that social media is a tool that can't be used effectively without a national strategy. Social media is being used by billions of people around the world for social interaction, entertainment, sharing different contents and communication; affecting every segment of society especially young people. Social Media communities have developed beyond political and geographical boundaries. These advantages may be overshadowed by the cyber threats, if we are not careful. Privacy is the main concern so one has to be very careful while giving information on social media and must set the privacy settings right. However, to get the real benefits of social media, necessary safeguards must be placed at national, organizational and personal level. The best solution in the current scenario is to develop and deploy own social media platforms having the same capabilities as US based platforms and block other social media platforms in our country. This will keep the information of our users with us and moreover economy of our own country will benefit from online activities of our social media users.

Notes

- [Online]. Available: <https://blogs.arynews.tv/social-media-fifth-generation-warfare/>.
- [Online]. Available: https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Social_Media/Introduction.
- [Online]. Available: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-48447071>.
- Guide_for_researchers. [Online]. Available: http://www.rin.ac.uk/system/files/attachments/social_media_guide_for_screen_0.pdf.
- [Online]. Available: <https://lop.parl.ca/staticfiles/PublicWebsite/Home/ResearchPublications/InBriefs/PDF/2010-03-e.pdf>.
- Famous_SM-Sites. [Online]. Available: <https://www.telstra.com.au/content/dam/tcom/seniors/pdf/beginners-social-media-part1.pdf>.
- J.Clement, "Statista," 9 August 2019. [Online]. Available: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/264810/number-of-monthly-active-facebook-users-worldwide/>.
- M.A.H.R.T.a.I.W. Falch, "Business Models in Social Networking," 2009.
- [Online]. Available: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/516347-google-says-youtube-campaign-targeted-hong-kong-protests>.
- [Online]. Available: <http://www.thegoodlobby.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Social-Media-for-change.pdf>.
- <https://cryptome.org/0005/cia-iqt-spies.htm>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/us/politics/cambridge-analytica-trump-campaign.html>
- <https://www.giswatch.org/en/communications-surveillance/digital-surveillance>
- [Online]. Available: <https://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/232768-us-china-tensions-build-on-cybersecurity>.
- [Online]. Available: <https://topdigital.agency/10-most-popular-social-media-sites-in-china-2019-updated/>.
- [Online]. Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/jul/11/facebook-fined-for-data-breaches-in-cambridge-analytica-scandal>.
- [Online]. Available: <https://www.comparetech.com/blog/vpn-privacy/cybersecurity-by-country/>.
- [Online]. Available: <https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Cybersecurity/Pages/global-cybersecurity-index.aspx>.
- [Online]. Available: <https://propakistani.pk/2018/02/06/state-social-media-cyber-crime-pakistan-2018/>.
- [Online]. Available: <http://digitalpakistan.pk/pdf/useful-links.pdf>.
- [Online]. Available: https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Social_Media/Introduction.
- Bank_Alfalah_Twitter. [Online]. Available: <https://propakistani.pk/2019/06/14/controversy-erupts-as-bank-alfalah-fires-employee-for-abusing-a-journalist-on-twitter/>.
- [Online]. Available: <http://afyonluoglu.org/PublicWebFiles/strategies/Cyber-Wellness/CW-Pakistan.pdf>.
- [Online]. Available: <https://www.uscpubdiplomacy.org/blog/real-dark-side-facebook>.



ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AN OVERVIEW



Major Ayaz Rafique

Abstract

Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology has traversed through multiple pages of history and still undergoes through a perpetual process of evolution. Basing upon computer based intelligent brain, known as “Intelligent Agents”, it contains devices that perceive environment and subsequently take action in order to maximize envisaged probable goals. This paper will explore the horizon of AI and its associated tentacles. Ranging from modern digitalized world, AI is the property of machines, computer programs and systems to perform the intellectual and creative functions with which mankind has been blessed by the Creator. Aspiration to enable computers to independently find ways to solve problems, be able to draw conclusions and make decisions has given birth to the field of AI. Such systems possess learning capability, which assist people to improve their performance over time. Recent research on AI tools encompasses machine learning, deep learning and predictive analysis; intended towards increasing the planning, learning, reasoning, thinking and action taking ability. AI is bringing revolution to the canvas of the world and at the same time has drastic implications for military arena. Pakistan Army, having adversaries larger in number and borders besetting non-peaceful neighbours, desperately needs to enhance its capability for which AI remains one of the top suites and a viable option.

Keywords: AI, Machine Learning, Deep Learning, Predictive Analysis, Intelligent Agents, Automation



The development of full artificial intelligence could spell the end of the human race....It would take off on its own, and re-design itself at an ever increasing rate. Humans, who are limited by slow biological evolution, couldn't compete, and would be superseded

(Stephen Hawking)





Potential capability to learn, retain and subsequently apply can be defined as “Intelligence”. Measure of intelligence can be defined as the ability to apply change. Intelligence differs from knowledge in the context of appliance; knowledge can be defined as pre-programmed information to render response against existing/ pre-defined occurrences. Whereas intelligence on the other hand is building capability on the basis of knowledge to respond on any identical events along with enhancing capability with the passage of time.

from the runway of academia. In parallel with computer advancement, AI kept on growing which today has been classified into following types:

- Reactive Machines AI
- Limited Memory AI
- Theory of Mind AI
- Self-aware AI
- Artificial Narrow Intelligence (ANI)
- Artificial General Intelligence (AGI)
- Artificial Superhuman Intelligence (ASI)

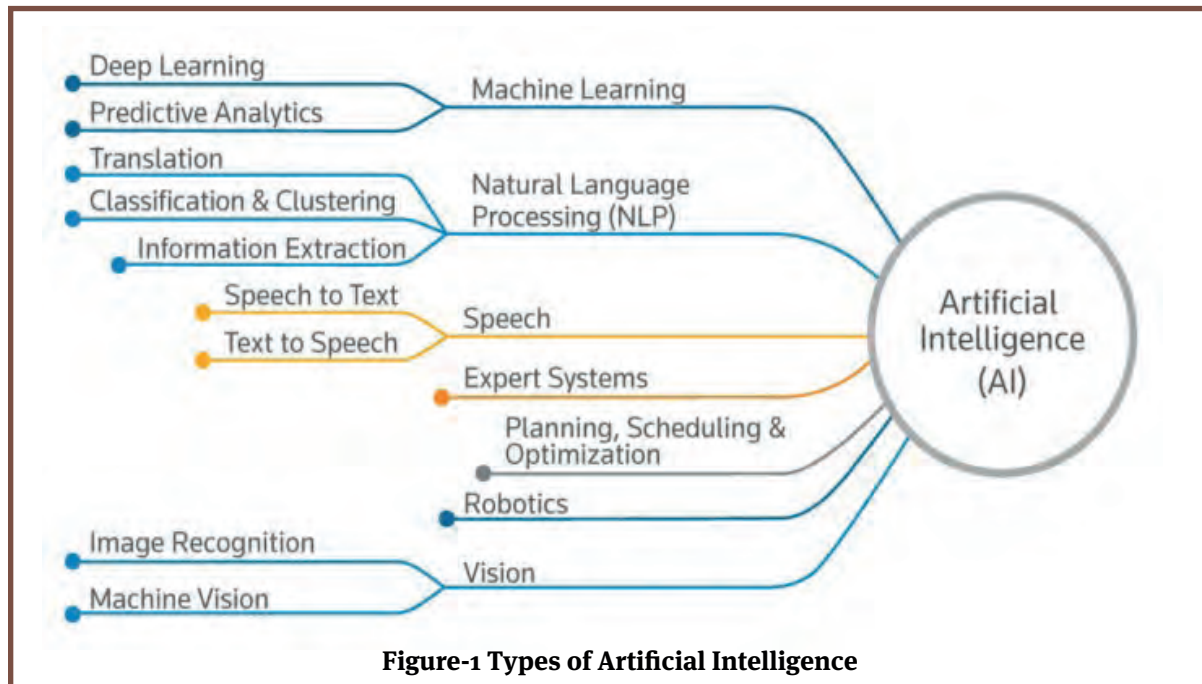


Figure-1 Types of Artificial Intelligence

Since introduction of IT in the history of mankind, human aspired to infuse its intelligence behavior into computers and robots in order to replace humans completely in many walks of life. AI, as it is clearly understood from its caption, it is simulated/ artificial prudence created by mankind. Intelligent behaviors devised by human being to enhance the capability of computers may be defined as AI. History of desire to have AI can be traced back to 1940s and 50s, where scientists belonging from multiple walks of life (mathematics, psychology, engineering, economics and political science) innovated the idea of an artificial brain, which took off in 1956

History of desire to have AI can be traced back to 1940s and 50s, where scientists belonging from multiple walks of life innovated the idea of an artificial brain, which took off in 1956 from the runway of academia

Understanding of AI stands incomplete if its appliance & advantages remain obscure. An envisaged advantage of AI includes increase in efficiency, improved precision, swift response and elimination of factors leading towards human errors.

Notwithstanding, betterment of AI over Human Intelligence may be debated but precision based consistency attributes more weightages to AI. It may indeed be true to state that AI possesses potential to replace human or may enhance/ boost its capability/ productivity.

Areas of Application

Smart Phones. Smart phones have remarkably improved quality of life and the process is still going on where smart phones loaded with more features hold the potential to revolutionize it more. Smart phones with built-in smart assistants are example of it including portrait mode in the camera, scene detection, mixed and virtual reality elements, and more. Google I/O 2019, held in US clearly stated

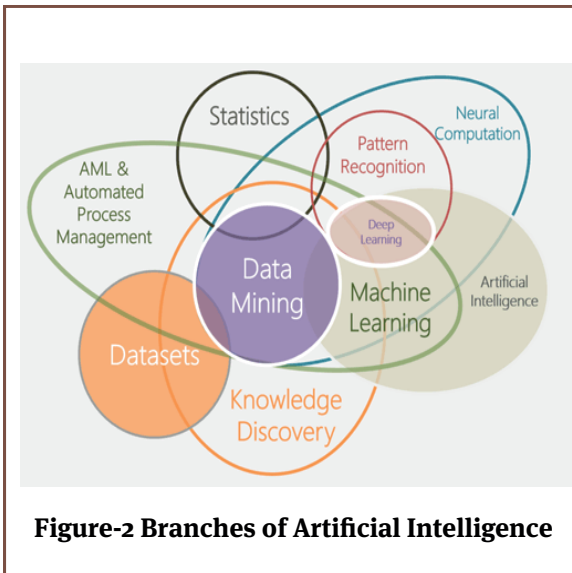


Figure-2 Branches of Artificial Intelligence

that upcoming era belongs to AI possessing smart phones.

Smart Cars. Automobile industry is one of the leading industries in international arena. IT remains mandatory for earning advancement for any industry; same has been realized by automobile industry which has upraised itself integrated with IT. Infused with innovative features, cars now aspire to improve prominently and the dream car of history is being envisaged as future car of today's world where Tesla has reached the milestone of having 50,000 cars running in US, learn and share information among each other for autonomous decision and routing. This number & capability is believed to increase exponentially.

Social Media Feeds. Data although virtual, remains one of the most valuable assets today. Treasury of data on one side holds undetermined value, whereas on other side once processed can paint the canvas with obvious findings. Generating results based on demographics of user and rendering data/ information as per his area of residence, interest, religion etc is an implicit but a valuable feature of AI. AI today aims to make user addicted to itself where every user experiences its benefits.

Music & Media Streaming Services. Netflix, Youtube and other websites suggesting content of your interest performs processing on backend without letting user know. Credit of this unnoticed service goes to AI, which is playing a big role in that.

Video Games. The video game industry is probably one of the earliest adopters of AI. Random level of games and bots based players is achievement of AI. Beating an experienced human player in such a dynamic game is a huge achievement for AI.

Tesla has reached to the milestone of having 50,000 cars running in US, learn and share information among each other for autonomous decision and routing

Online Advertisements Works. One of the biggest users of AI is the online advertisement industry, which uses AI to not only track user statistics but also serve us ads based on those statistics. Online advertisement industry cannot sustain its existence without AI which today has earned 250 billion US dollars. Websites recommending you a product is served by AI.

Navigation & Travel. Every one of us has used navigational technology. Suggesting route after analyzing many factors is an intelligent process, which is done by the brain of AI.

Banking & Finance. Banking is the backbone of any industry as each industry is run by economy. Banking & finance cannot survive without AI as automated emails, notifications, transaction and monitoring of accounts involve AI.

Smart Home Devices. IoT (Internet of Things) has added a new dimension to the IT world, where every single device is connected and communicates with each other, therefore enabling home devices to operate in synchronization with each other. Frictionless entry of AI in our house has taken away many worries from switching on lights to controlling of devices through internet connectivity

Security and Surveillance. AI is playing a key role in security domain, which cannot be denied as for humans it is not viable to monitor multiple screens and detect any untoward situation. With technologies like object recognition and facial recognition AI provides better results than humans in this domain.

Artificial Intelligence: The Future

Life today has been changed by AI and is expected to change more in future. Whether it is about telecom industry, e-commerce, banking etc from industry to individual, AI has implicitly dived into all pools.

Defense Related Aspects. AI has encompassed all domains of life at international, national and individuals level. Therefore,

Frictionless entry of AI in our house has taken away many worries from switching on lights to controlling of devices through internet connectivity



Advanced Targeting and Lethality Automated System (ATLAS) will use AI and machine learning to give ground combat vehicles autonomous targeting capabilities

advancement in AI, deep-learning, and robotics have opened new horizon in military world. With the advent of autonomous weapons systems, arm program, robotic soldiers and drones, new pressure is being mounted on all defense forces of the world. Race of getting AI capable Army is pacing slower than nuclear capability race, but it has persistent effects on the capabilities. Therefore, all leading Armies of the world have embraced the technology of AI to earn maximum benefits and superiority over adversaries.

United States. 'Third Offset Strategy,' aimed to exploit all advantages of AI by stating that future will be prepared on the basis of AI. Composite team of scientists, strategists, and military experts formulated to keep the pace with adversaries. In this context, Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) has dedicated 2 billion dollar for developing next wave of AI technologies. Sequel to this Advanced Targeting and Lethality Automated System (ATLAS) will use AI and machine learning to give ground-combat vehicles autonomous targeting capabilities.

China. Keeping in view the progress of its adversaries in the field of AI, China also worked on a new protocol "to ban the use of fully autonomous lethal weapons systems." Although China claims to negate an AI arms race, however same sentiment

is being cooked in the private sector. Chairman of Alibaba has claimed that machine learning and AI, could lead to a World War III. Notwithstanding all raised eye brows China's leadership is striving to use AI for military purposes. In this context civil - military fusion on national strategic level has collaborated on multiple projects including The

In 2017, Kalashnikov - Russia's largest gun manufacturer - announced that it had developed a fully automated combat module based on neural-network technologies that enable it to identify targets and make decisions

People's Liberation Army (PLA) that heavily relies on technology firms and innovative start-ups. In addition to this, Tsinghua University launched the Military-Civil Fusion National Defense Peak Technologies Laboratory to create "a platform for the pursuit of dual-use applications of emerging technologies, particularly AI." Regarding the application of AI to weapons, China is currently developing "next generation stealth drones," including, for instance, Ziyang's Blowfish A2 model. According to the company, this model "autonomously performs more complex combat missions, including fixed-point timing detection, fixed-range reconnaissance, and targeted precision strikes."

Russia. Russia lacks formal AI strategy and policy yet it is working towards integrating AI more comprehensively. The Foundation for Advanced Research Projects (the Foundation), which is equivalent of DARPA, opened the National Center for the Development of Technology and Basic Elements of Robotics in 2015. Russian Government has also motivated military and civilian scientists in developing AI technology, which she stated was crucial for countering "possible threats to the technological and economic security of Russia." In 2017, Kalashnikov - Russia's largest gun manufacturer - announced that it had developed a fully automated combat module based on neural-network technologies that enable it to identify targets and make decisions. In January 2019, reports emerged that Russia was developing an autonomous drone, which "will be able to take off, accomplish its mission, and land without human interference," though "weapons use will require human approval."

United Kingdom. Realizing the importance of autonomous system and its potential, UK also desires to earn greater precision and efficiency with evolving technology. However, it clearly stated that human will ultimately remain responsible and this responsibility cannot be shed away therefore authority of appliance should remain with human.



Unveiling of Mikhail Kalashnikov statue in Moscow



Israel is pioneer in revealing that it has deployed fully automated robots and self driving military vehicles to patrol the border with the Palestinian-governed Gaza Strip

A 2018 Ministry of Defense report underlines that the MoD is pursuing modernization “in areas like AI, machine-learning, man-machine teaming, and automation to deliver the disruptive effects we need in this regard”.

Israel. Israel is pioneer in revealing that it has deployed fully automated robots and self-driving military vehicles to patrol the border with the Palestinian-governed Gaza Strip. Furthermore, Israel claims that taking benefits from technology should not be banned and discouraged. Moreover, military awareness requires guided efforts. Being responsible for IT in Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), technical unit known as C⁴I is the Sigma branch, whose purpose is “to develop, research, and implement the latest in AI and advanced software research in order to keep the IDF up to date”. The Israeli military deploys weapons with a considerable degree of autonomy. One of the most relevant examples is the Harpy loitering munition, also known as a kamikaze drone: an unmanned aerial vehicle that can fly around for a significant length of time to engage ground targets with an explosive warhead.

Whats in it for the Pakistan Army

Weapons. Quality of targeting system is determined on the basis of speed and accuracy. Weapons based on machine learning and computer vision can add new dimension to existing armament. Weapons comprising of computer vision to identify and track target may achieve targets in strategic manner. Currently, there are no autonomous weapon platforms that are being designed to fire the ordnance without the express approval of a monitoring operator. One strategic advantage autonomous weapons may provide over traditionally manned systems is that the latter are susceptible to human distraction and needs. With advent of autonomous weapons, “eyes” of computer can process images and footage and subsequently target hostile action or natural terrain. These eyes of computer can be applied

With AI based surveillance system improved insights can be achieved. Machine learning and computer vision for surveillance operations must be employed to equate adversary which enjoys numeric superiority

to missile systems for handheld missile launcher systems as well as larger Naval Strike Missiles.

Surveillance. Surveillance plays the key role in any defense system, vigilance, attentiveness and robust response primarily defines the quality of defensive system. Therefore, deliberate effort must be made for processing visual surveillance data retrieved from various sources, such as phone cameras, laptop feeds, video surveillance, planted cameras, UAVs and satellite footage. However, collecting alone will not serve the purpose, therefore strategic processing must be applied to achieve desired results. With AI based surveillance system, improved insights can be achieved. Machine learning and computer vision for surveillance operations must be employed to equate any adversary which enjoys numeric superiority.

Security. With AI based surveillance, perceived benefits can only be obtained if same is applied on securing the same. Better technique of capturing the data remains of no use, if robust and precision based response cannot be generated. Predicting events based on past data may enhance security capability of military.

Cyber Security. Cyber space being the next and latest area of warfare holds greater requirement of security. High degree of threat to sensitive data owns high level of risk associated with it, therefore prevention of such breaches in Pak Army network requires acumen effort. In this context, machine learning embedded with security products and protocols can be used to identify and predict threats before they can affect the networks. Keeping in view the amount of data being preserved in data centers, threat to data holds paramount importance. Therefore, mitigation and



Figure-3 Precision Based Autonomous System

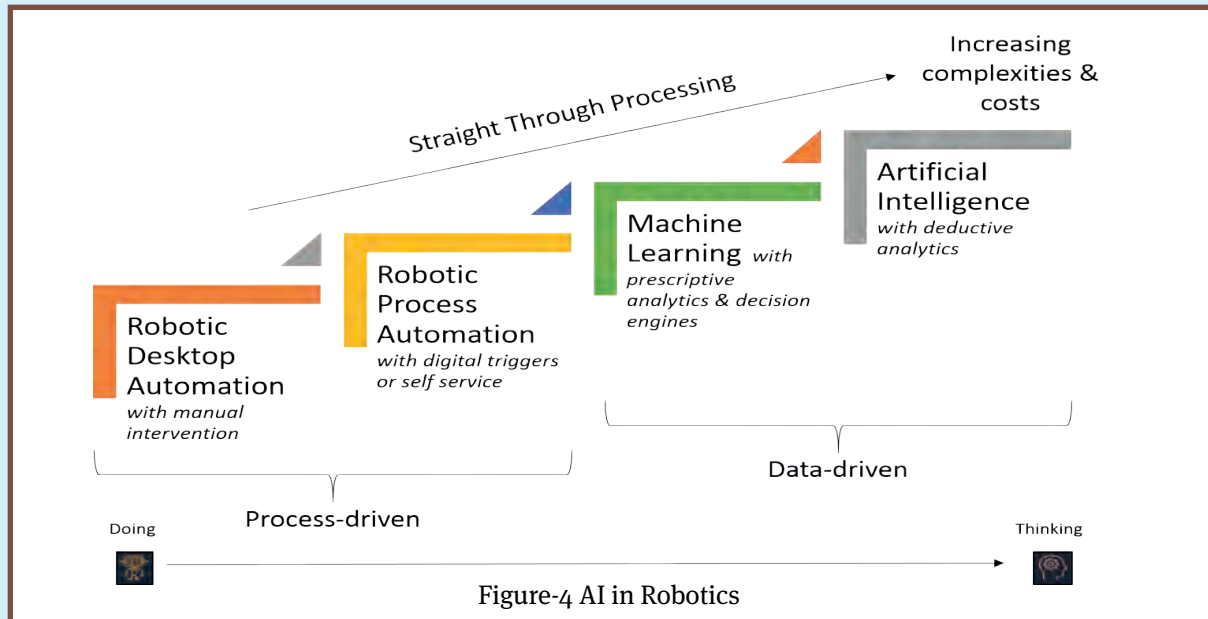


Software can be used to identify various digital situations, such as an email or a new flash drive, likely to be a trap or tool for implanting malware, and then neutralize the cyber threat lying in wait for a military operator before the malware can act

contingencies integrated with AI may secure huge amount of data in a proactive manner. Software can be used to identify various digital situations, such as an email or a new flash drive, likely to be a trap or tool for implanting malware, and then neutralize the cyber threat lying in wait for a military operator before the malware can act.

Pak Army with integration of eARMS with AI for CODs as a start point.

Autonomous Vehicles. Autonomous vehicles in Pak Army can have expanded utilization as Pak Army holds variety of vehicles. For instance, an autonomous truck could travel back and forth from a sand silo, while military laborers continue



Similarly, software can be trained to identify anomalies in the network characteristics due to previous security intrusions. Once the software “learns” what parameter values could come from an active threat, the system can be used to prompt human security analysts through a dashboard to ensure that all new security threats are identified at the earliest.

Logistics. As the saying goes, “An Army marches on its belly” and management of logistics is based upon management of information & knowledge. AI has the capability to assist decision makers on the base of this knowledge to make informed decisions. As logistics forms the basis on which rests the whole structure of Army, therefore, an efficient, data-backed and maintained military equipment system can establish a firm base for logistics management. Improving the logistics of Pak Army can provide capability, effectiveness and speed to an officer’s decisions. Knowing precisely when that threshold is achieved could allow the commander to give orders to replenish the ordinance. Formulating a system that properly delivers a scheduled report to a commander during battle, same can be incorporated in the IT web of

creating sandbags. Moreover, an automated unmanned/ unattended vehicle with a relatively simple AI driving algorithm can play the role hover in large cantonments. Similarly Convoy Active Safety Technology system, CAST is a system which can be installed on Pak Army vehicles which, when activated can lock-on to the vehicle ahead of it and drive itself using machine vision, creating a convoy. On the same line, design of the Boeing can be enhanced to become an autonomous drone and aircraft for ISR missions.

Conclusion

It may indeed be true to conclude that scope of AI aims at simulating human intelligence into machines. It can be defined as a method by which machines demonstrate certain aspects of human intelligence like learning, reasoning and self-correction. Similarly, AI will have a revolutionary impact on warfare. From one prospective it asserts that AI will induce a “seismic shift on the field of battle” and “fundamentally transform the way war is waged”. The world has passed from the Industrial Era of warfare into the Information Era. Realization of importance of AI advocates

that Pak Army specifically should aspire to improve its capability by adapting AI into the fields of Autonomous Weapons, Surveillance, Cyber Security, Homeland Security, Logistics and Autonomous Vehicles to counter potential threats from relatively larger adversary in order to gain information superiority, which will be a decisive wartime advantage, enabling faster and higher-quality decisions.

Notes

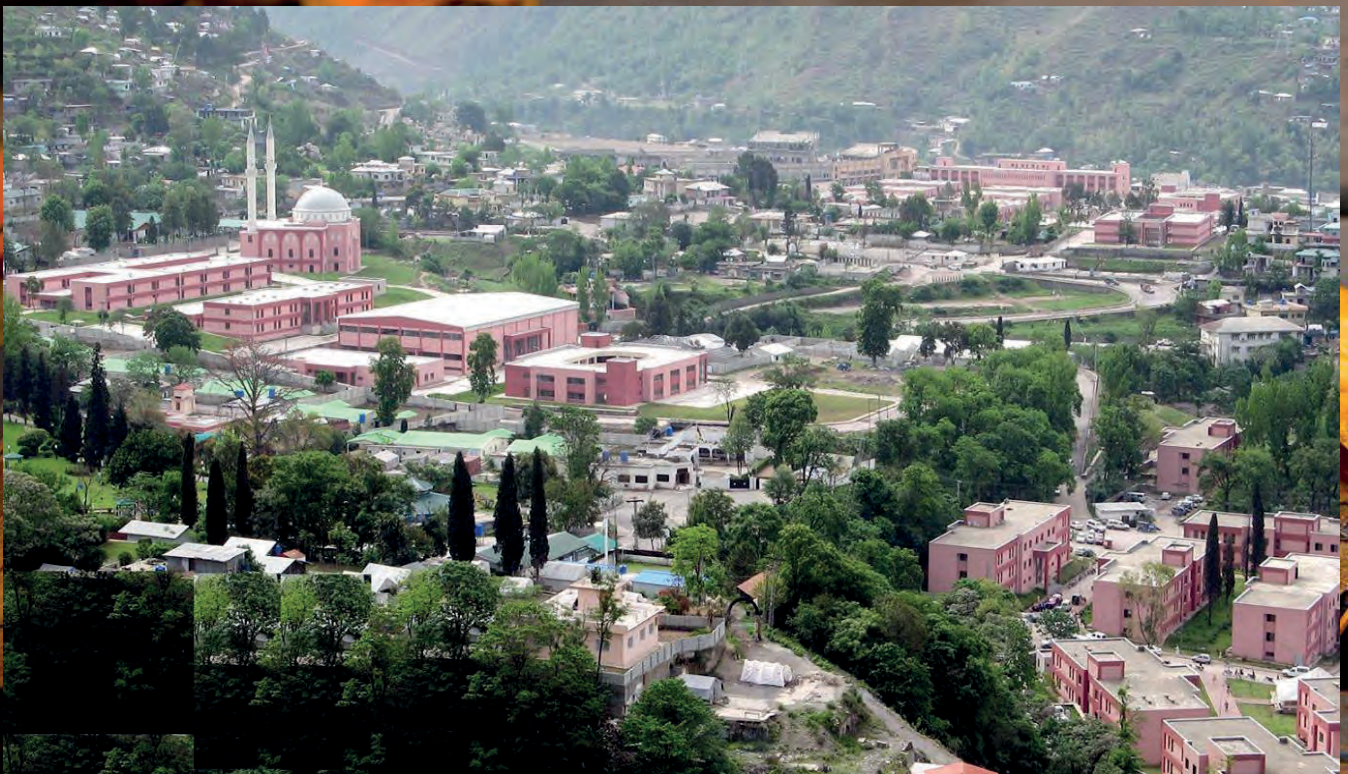
1. Y. Wang, W.-d. Cai, and P.-c. Wei, "A deep learning approach for detect-ing malicious javascript code," Security and Communication Networks,2016.
2. LeCun, Y., Bengio, Y. & Hinton, G. Deep learning. Nature 521, 436–444 (2015).
3. Y. Wang, W.-d. Cai, and P.-c. Wei, "A deep learning approach for detect-ing malicious javascript code," Security and Communication Networks,2016.
4. Harun, Muhammad, et al. "A short review on Applications of Deep learning for Cyber security".
5. Cottle, Mike, et al. "Transforming Health Care Through Big Data Strategies for leveraging big data in the health care industry." Institute for Health Tech-nology Transformation, <http://healthtran.com/big-data-in-healthcare> (2013).
6. Huang, Cheng-Lung, and Chieh-Jen Wang. "A GA-based feature selection and parameters optimization for support vector machines." Expert Systems with applications 31.2 (2006): 231-240.

AI will induce a “seismic shift on the field of battle” and “fundamentally transform the way war is waged”

7. Rish, Irina. "An empirical study of the naive Bayes classifier." IJCAI 2001 workshop on empirical methods in artificial intelligence. Vol. 3. No. 22. IBM New York, 2001.
8. Porter, T.; Green, B.: Identifying diabetic patients: a data mining approach. In: Americas Conference on Information Systems (2009).
9. Veropoulos, Konstantinos, Colin Campbell, and Nello Cristianini. "Controlling the sensitivity of support vector machines." Proceedings of the international joint conference on AI. 1999.
10. Chen, A.H.; Huang, S.Y.; Hong, P.S.; Cheng, C.H.; Lin, E.J.: HDPS: Heart disease prediction system. In: Computing in Cardiology, 2011, pp. 557–560. IEEE (2011).
11. <https://www.science.gov/topicpages/c/cyber+attack+dataset.html>
12. Yousafi-Azer. Mahmood et al. "Autoencoder-based Feature Learning for Cyber Security Applications".
13. <https://www.itgovernance.co.uk/what-is-cybersecurity>.
14. W. Huang and J. W. Stokes, "Mtnet: a multi-task neural network for dynamic malware classification," in Detection of Intrusions and Malware, and Vulnerability Assessment: 13th International Conference, DIMVA2016, San Sebasti'an, Spain, July 7-8, 2016, Proceedings. Springer, 2016, pp. 399–418.



Azad Jammu & Kashmir



Land of Smiles



72 Years of Subjugation and Human Rights Violations by India in IOJK



The Indian Express

@IndianExpress

Follow

#ExpressFrontPage | Need to tell youth Azadi will never happen, you can't fight us: Army Chief General Bipin Rawat



DG ISPR
@OfficialDGISPR

Follow

"Repression of Indian occupying forces can never suppress valiant spirit of Kashmiris who rightfully await awakening of international community for plebiscite under UN resolution. Regardless of the ordeal, their struggle is destined to succeed IA" COAS.
[#KashmirSolidarityDay](#)

Rising Hindutva



Babri Mosque — Ayodhya



Golden Temple — Amritsar



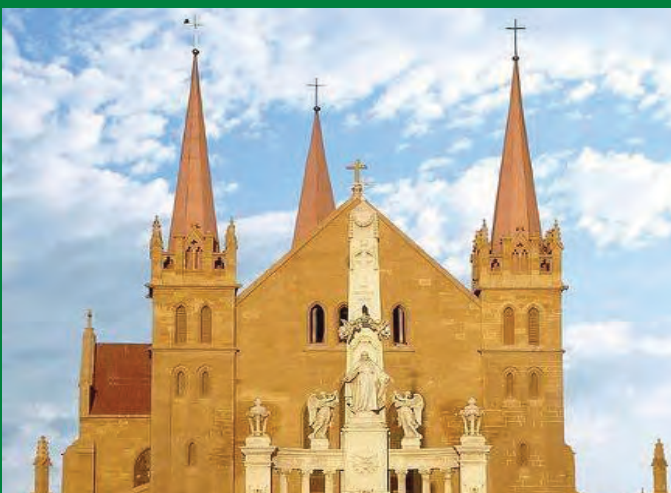
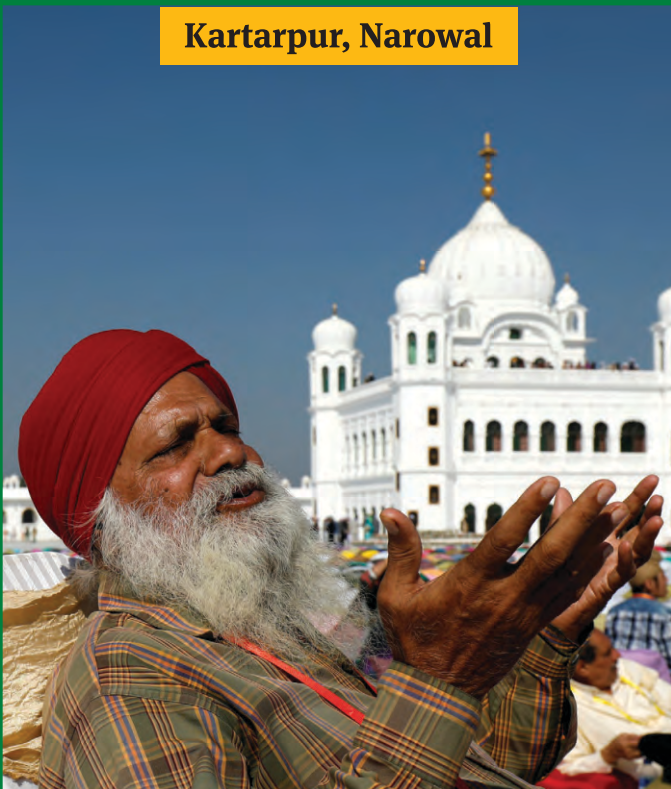
A Vandalized Church in Orissa, India



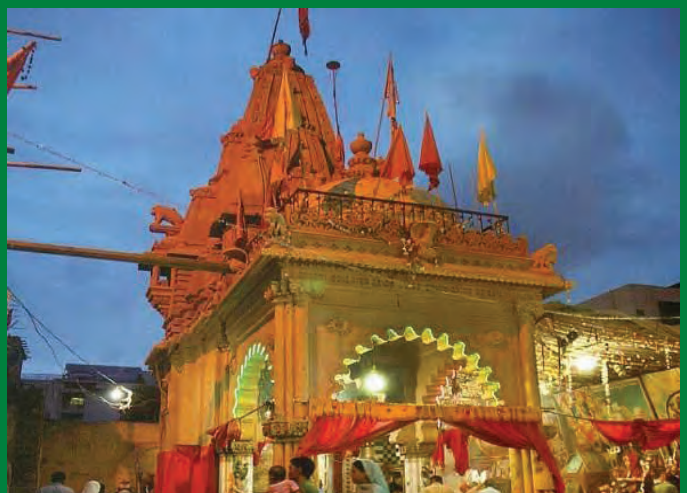
Religious Harmony Personified



Kartarpur, Narowal



Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Karachi



Hanuman Mandir, Karachi



Indian MiG 21 shot down by PAF
27 February 2019



PAKISTAN ARMY
General Headquarters
Rawalpindi